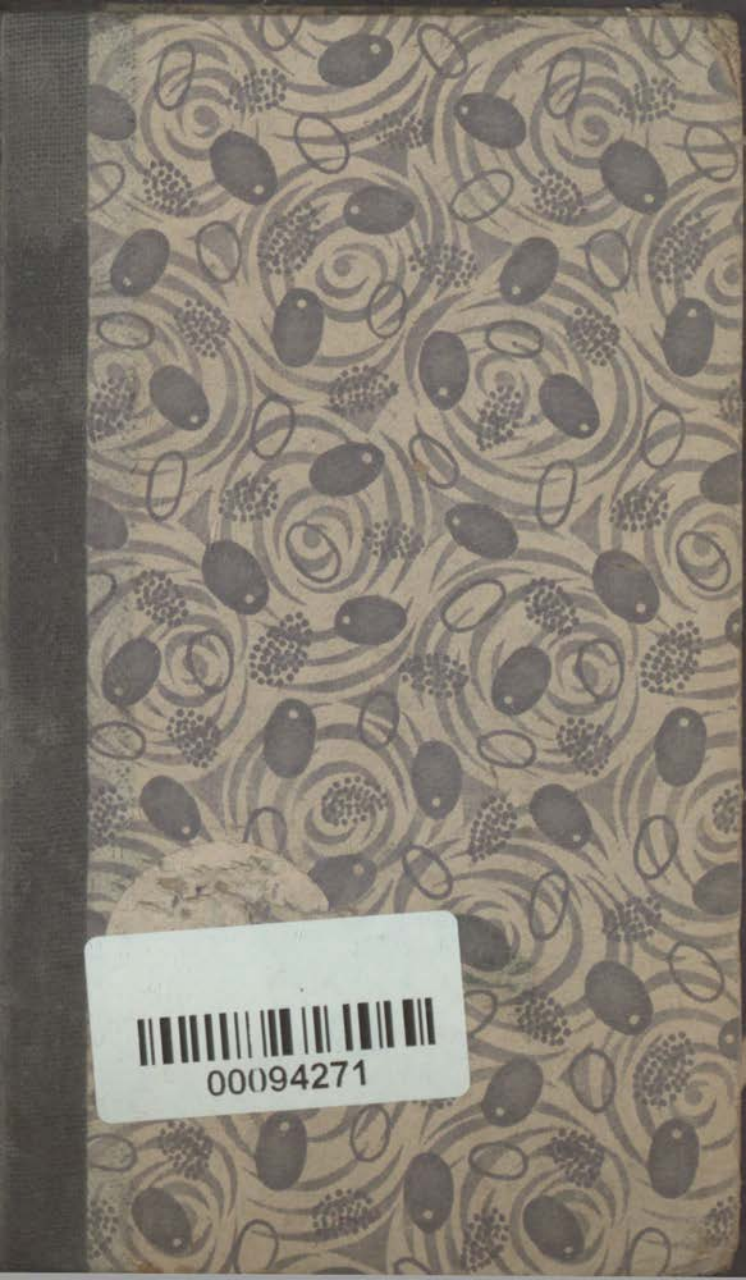
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BRITISH AMERICA.

VOL. II.

ST JOHN, NEWFOUNDLAND.

OLIVER & BOYD, EDINBURGH.

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AN

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF BRITISH AMERICA;

94271

COMPREHENDING

CANADA UPPER AND LOWER,

NOVA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEWFOUNDLAND,
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, THE BERMUDAS,
AND THE FUR COUNTRIES:

THEIR HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT; THE STATISTICS AND TOPOGRAPHY OF EACH DISTRICT; THEIR COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, AND FISHERIES; THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION; AS ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES;

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A FULL DETAIL OF THE PRINCIPLES AND BEST MODES OF

EMIGRATION.

BY HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY,

BY JAMES WILSON, F.R.S.E. & M.W.S.
R. K. GREVILLE, LL.D.
AND PROFESSOR TRAILL.

SIX MAPS BY WRIGHT, AND TEN ENGRAVINGS BY JACKSON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

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BRITISH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

Commerce of the Canadas.

EXPORT TRADE—Productive Industry—Export Trade—Wheat—Ashes—Fish—Furs—Tobacco—Timber—Miscellaneous—Manufactures—Household Stuffs—Iron Wares—IMPORT TRADE—Import Trade and Consumption—Spirits and Wines—West India Produce—British Manufactures—Miscellaneous—Trade with the United States—EXCHANGES, &c.—Exchange—Weights and Measures—Banks—Inland Communication.

THE Commerce of Canada, whether we consider the demand which it embodies for the produce of British industry, or the employment it affords to our shipping, is of great and increasing importance. Without a description of its mercantile relations, our account of that colony would obviously be very imperfect; we shall therefore proceed to lay before our readers as complete a view of its productive resources and trade as our limits will permit.

SECTION I.—EXPORT TRADE.

The resources of the Canadas may be stated under the following heads:—

1. PRODUCE OF AGRICULTURE.
2. ASHES.
3. TIMBER.
4. PRODUCE OF THE FISHERIES.
5. FURS AND PELTRIES.
6. MANUFACTURES.
7. SHIP-BUILDING.

1. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.—The cultivation of the soil is still the principal occupation of the people;

a circumstance which almost necessarily follows from the abundance of rich land and the total absence of taxes; for these advantages more than compensate the high price of labour.

The inhabitants of both provinces are great consumers of wheat; it having been computed that each individual, on an average, uses nine bushels yearly. Estimating the population at 1,000,000, which is probably below the truth, and allowing for the proper quantity reserved for seed and exportation, the annual crop must now exceed 11,000,000 bushels of wheat alone, the value of which is more than two millions sterling.

The average export of wheat and flour is exhibited by the following Table :—

Five years ending	Flour, brls.	Wheat, bushels.	Wheat and flour as wheat bushels.	Average of each period.	Five years ending
1797	60,900	1,330,106	1,634,606	326,921	1797
1802	110,100	1,921,033	2,471,533	494,307	1802
1807	79,528	911,403	1,309,043	261,809	1807
1812	131,422	820,258	1,477,368	295,474	1812
1816	4,787	.....	23,945	5,986	1816*
1821	148,680	1,222,877	1,966,277	393,255	1821
1826	209,041	1,103,842	2,149,047	429,809	1826
1831	255,275	2,459,677	3,736,052	747,210	1831 †

Since the period at which this Table concludes, the exports have been as follows :—

Years.	Flour, barrels.	Wheat, bushels.	Wheat and flour as wheat bushels.	Average of the four years.	Years.
1832	44,886	480,000	704,430	780,000.	1832
1833	92,393	660,000	1,121,965		1833
1834	77,898	412,566	802,056		1834
1835	86,327	57,367	489,002		1835

* Four years only. Canada was the seat of active war from 1812 to 1815.

† It may be proper to state, that many of the tables introduced into this chapter are derived from a private source. They are much more specific, and also of more recent date, than the statements of the Board of Trade. These, as well as other tables, have already been used by the writer in two articles on the trade of the Canadas, which appeared in the Scottish Magazine.

From this statement, it might seem that the agriculture of Canada is not increasing in any great degree; whilst, in point of fact, it is advancing with most rapid strides. During the last two years, a considerable quantity of the wheat from the upper province has found its way into the United States, where there was a deficiency, estimated at not less than 2,000,000 bushels. As this scarcity still continues, it is not improbable that the New York millers will outbid the Montreal merchants for some time to come.* This is a most fortunate circumstance, not only for the farmer, but for the general importer; because prices having been thereby kept up beyond a remunerating rate, production has been proportionably stimulated, notwithstanding the discouraging state of the English markets, whence alone a demand had previously sprung.

A portion of the flour exported from Lower Canada is received from the state of New York, of which the

---

* Since the above was written, we have met with the following statement in an American newspaper:—

From one of the statements appended to the Report by the Committee of the House of Representatives, on the Ways and Means, we gather the following facts respecting the amount of exportations from Canada to the United States, in the articles of wheat and flour, for several years past. For the year 1836, unfortunately, no return had been received of the flour.

	CANADA WHEAT.		CANADA FLOUR.	
	Bushels.	Value in Dollars.	Cwt.	Value in Dols.
1825.....	992.....	935.....	118.....	266
1826.....	1,375.....	1,318.....	33.....	82
1827.....	1,059.....	898.....	47.....	92
1828.....	810.....	656.....	6.....	12
1829.....	261.....	301.....	151.....	339
1830.....	422.....	492.....	192.....	579
1831.....	585.....	586.....	5.....	14
1832.....	1,163.....	1,144.....	3.....	3
1833.....	1,581.....	1,575.....	36.....	106
1834.....	1,222.....	1,210.....	26.....	66
1835.....	236,194	196,351.....	28,483.....	69,976
1836.....	115,850.....	103,899.....	.....	

Including flour, the transmission of wheat from Canada to the United States in 1835 amounted to nearly 380,000 bushels.

quantity amounts to about 36,000 barrels annually.* The remainder is supplied by the upper and lower provinces, but in what proportions it would be difficult to say. We may, however, attain to an approximation in the following manner:—

The consumption of Montreal and Quebec must, for the most part, be charged upon the production of the upper province and the United States, inasmuch as it is chiefly by the trade of the interior that these two cities are supported. The whole may amount to about 700,000 bushels annually. Now, supposing that only 500,000 bushels are received from Upper Canada and the States, the remainder will be the quantity supplied by the lower province for export. The following is merely a reduction of this statement to figures:—

Exported from Canada, 1830, 1833		4,476,291
Received from Upper Canada, Wheat, bushels	1,285,552	
Ditto ditto, Flour ditto	1,692,780	
Ditto from United States, ditto ditto	722,015	
Total received from Upper Canada and the United States	3,700,347	
Consumed in the cities	2,000,000	
Surplus afforded by Upper Canada		1,700,347
Ditto ditto Lower ditto		2,775,944
		4,476,291

The demand for corn from the United States has not only drained the Canadian markets of their own surplus, but by raising the prices has actually caused a considerable export of foreign wheat from this country. As early as 1833, a small quantity was sent to Quebec from England; a further supply was shipped from Archangel: in 1835 the amount reached three or four hundred thousand bushels; and in 1836, as we learn from a recent account, it amounted to 480,000 bushels. This is mostly ground by the Canadian millers, part being consumed and part perhaps shipped to the West

* 144,403 barrels from the United States in the four years ending 1833, which is 36,100 per annum.

Indies. If it be all consumed, it will liberate, of course, just so much for the use of the United States. There is no reason, however, why the whole should not be re-exported in the form in which it originally went out. The duty on foreign wheat during the latter part of the year 1836 was about 39s. per quarter; the expense of sending it to Canada and back may vary from 17s. to 20s.; while the duty on wheat from the colony never exceeds 5s. Thus, under all circumstances, and at the highest cost of transmission, the corn-laws operate as an encouragement of this process to the extent of from 14s. to 17s. per quarter. From this fact some persons have inferred, that Canada does not grow a sufficient quantity of wheat for her own consumption. It might as well be said, that she does not produce timber enough for this purpose, as several cargoes have been exported thither from the Baltic, and afterwards shipped for England. In both cases the cause is the same—a high discriminating duty.

The average price of wheat during the five years ending 1825 was 4s. 6¼d. per bushel; and in that year the duty with respect to Canada was reduced from 12s. 6d. per quarter to 5s. The consequence is, that agriculture has been greatly promoted, the quality of the produce much improved, and the price has advanced from 25 to 30 per cent. The average price of wheat for the six years ending 1831 was 6s. 1½d., that of Upper Canada selling at 6s. 6d. to 7s. 6d., and for a short period at 8s. 6d.; while the red wheat of Lower Canada brought from 5s. to 5s. 6d. Since the above period, the prevailing prices have been about 6s. for the wheat of the upper province, and 5s. for that of the lower; at which rates the farmer is abundantly remunerated.

The expenses attending the shipment of grain are as follows:—

Cleaning and shipping	4½d. per bushel.
Average freight	9s. per quarter.
Insurance (average)	3 per cent.
Landing charges and commissions	4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. per quarter.
Duty, when the price is 71s.,	—6d.; when the price is under 71s., —5s.

The quality of Canadian wheat is about equal to that of Dantzic and Königsberg, though at times the finest samples have commanded prices as high as the best growths in Kent and Sussex.

Wheat is not the only description of agricultural produce exported from Canada, though the quantity of other articles has been hitherto inconsiderable. The following statement gives a view of the particulars for the year 1835 :—

Barley	bushels	910	Onions	brls.	127
Oats	...	3682	Honey	lbs.	500
Malt	...	800	Ditto	cases	2
Bran	cwts.	521	Bees' Wax	boxes	2
Potatoes	bushels	450	Beef	brls.	3525
Oatmeal	brls.	68	Pork	...	7555
Indian Dust	...	61	Hams and Tongues	casks	3
Flax Seed	bushels	3341		kegs	17
Clover	brls.	13		lbs.	11,978
Pease	bushels	1912	Butter	...	64,607
Beans	...	12	Lard	...	15,155
Indian Corn	...	50	Cheese	...	2742
Apples	brls.	814	Tobacco	...	5632

Of the articles in this list, the most important in a commercial point of view are undoubtedly flax, tobacco, and salted provisions. For the production of flax and hemp the soil and climate of Canada are extremely well adapted, and a considerable quantity of both is grown for the use of the colonists. Hitherto it is only flax-seed that has been exported; but little is wanting to secure the ultimate production of both hemp and flax to a great extent, though the manufactures of linens, linseed oil, and cordage within the colony, which we shall hereafter notice, will prevent the existence of an exportable surplus for some time to come.

The cultivation of tobacco has increased in a surprising degree within the last ten or twelve years: though it had long been grown by the farmers for domestic use, it was not until 1825 or 1826 that it became an object of commerce. In one or other of those years, a few hhds. were received at Montreal from Amherstburg in the upper province; and as it was found to be of saleable

quality, the supply has continued to augment ever since, so that the quantity is now almost sufficient to supersede importation from the United States. The following is a statement of the leaf-tobacco received from both sources during the last four years :—

Years.	Upper Canada. hhds.	United States. hhds.	Total.	Lbs.
1832	209	55	264	295,680
1833	335	87	422	472,640
1834	353	...	353	395,360
1835	536	8	544	609,280
1836	1189	...	1189	1,331,680

In 1834 and 1835, 42,000 lbs. were imported *by sea* from the States ; but even this is only one-fourth of the quantity received in 1832 and 1833 by inland conveyance.

Whilst the receipt of leaf-tobacco from Upper Canada has been so rapidly increasing, the import of the manufactured article from all sources has been falling off. The manufacture is now carried on to a considerable extent in the cities of Quebec and Montreal ; and Upper Canada, for the most part, furnishes the raw material. The following statement of the total import of prepared tobacco, both by sea and by inland conveyance, from the United States, will fully illustrate the above observations :—

Years.	Tobacco, lbs.	Years.	Tobacco, lbs.
1832	2,177,280	1834	514,510
1833	1,327,190	1835	645,740

Most of the remaining articles in the list will increase in the same proportion as wheat, inasmuch as many of them are produced, in the upper province at least, in rotation with that crop.

2. Ashes.—The production of pot and pearl ashes in Canada takes its rise from the progress of colonisation. Before agriculture can be prosecuted, the forest must be removed ; and it then becomes a question whether the

felled wood can be converted to any useful purpose. Viewed as timber it is useless, because only a very small proportion of the trees would answer the purpose of exportation; and to select these would be an expensive and troublesome process, to which the settler cannot submit. Nor can he allow the lumberer to do so, as the latter would leave the ground encumbered with branches and brushwood, so as to render the subsequent clearing a more arduous business than if the forest had been wholly untouched. This being the case, the usual course is to burn the wood on the ground, and if the price be remunerating, the wood-ashes are converted into the ashes of commerce. If, however, the rate be discouraging, they are harrowed in for the improvement of the soil.

The process by which ashes are at present manufactured in Canada is rude and even wasteful in the extreme. In the first place, they are carelessly collected; are sometimes left exposed to rain, by which a portion of the salt is washed away; and the solution is made in tubs inartificially constructed, without much attention to economy or neatness. The alkali, when evaporated, is subjected to heat in an iron cauldron, and partially deprived of its water of crystallization. It is then cooled, broken into stone-like masses, resembling felspar, and barrelled for exportation. Pearl-ashes receive a further process of calcination.

Within the last few years, the ashes of Canada have had to sustain a competition with two articles of British manufacture, which are now extensively used where the American production was formerly employed,—we mean British soda, and the chlorides of lime and soda. Had it not been for the introduction of these substitutes, especially the latter, the consumption of ashes would now have been enormous, perhaps not much less than three or four times what it is at present. But owing to these causes the demand has rather decreased than augmented, as the following statement of the exportation of the six years ending in 1835, compared with the average of the previous six, will show :—

ASHES EXPORTED.

Years.	Pot, barrels.	Pearl, barrels.	Both, barrels.
1830	39,753	15,550	45,303
1831	29,829	19,085	48,914
1832	24,960	14,002	38,962
1833	22,077	12,479	34,576
1834	15,442	6,200	21,642
1835	22,441	5,638	28,079
Average,	25,754	10,492	36,246
Average of previous 6 years,			42,224

showing a decrease of nearly 6000 barrels. The quantity shipped in 1836 was 33,689 barrels, being s. ~~ some-what under the recent average.

As there is great room for economy in the manufacture of ashes, we are of opinion that not only may a further diminution be prevented, but an actual increase secured. The prices of that article have been high for some time, showing, that in spite of all disadvantages, a considerable demand still exists. Indeed we know that for some manufactures ashes are absolutely necessary.

3. TIMBER.—At the present moment timber is one of the principal resources of Canada, and it will for many years form an important article of export; but, as a portion of the trade is the result of a legislative monopoly,* that portion can only last as long as the monopoly is maintained.

The following is a statement of the export of all articles of timber to Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies in 1835 :—

* This monopoly arises out of high duties on European timber, with low duties on the Canadian. Thus,

	Foreign.	Colonial.
Timber, per load.....	£2 15 0	£0 10 0
Deals, per hundred.....	19 0 0	2 0 0
Staves, per hundred.....	4 4 0	0 8 0

Oak.....tons	19,798	Deals.....pieces	2,123,853
Ash..... ...	3,319	Deal Ends..... ...	101,581
Elm..... ...	16,054	Boards	8,821
Pine	303,340	Battens	27,196
Birch, &c..... ...	1,517	Batten Ends.. ...	65
Masts.....pieces	508	Oars	16,471
Spars..... ...	2,633	Handspikes	28,618
Staves, standard pieces 1,969 536		Hoops..... ...	23,000
Puncheon 3,559,184		Trenails..... ...	3,011
Pipe ... 545,998		Knees	120
Barrel ... 350,471		Lathwood .....cords	2,452
Total staves .	6,772,158	Shooks.....packs	2,282
		Shingles.....bundles	25,500

Besides the amount carried by sea to this country and the West Indies, there is a considerable quantity of boards, scantling, and other sawn timber prepared for the United States and for home consumption. The trade with Independent America has arisen within the last few years, and is owing to the fact, that the woods in those parts of New York and Vermont which used to furnish the chief supply are now cut down. A short time ago, timber which is now furnished by Canada was received from the States just mentioned; and such is the rate at which the demand increases, that, according to the opinion of well-informed individuals, the saw-mills now at work will erelong be insufficient to meet it.

The timber-trade of Canada with the West Indies and the United States, as it exists without protection, cannot be affected by any change of the duties. On the other hand, the advantage which the colony now enjoys with the mother-country may be destroyed by the removal of those restrictions by which it was originally created. The discontinuance of the privilege has in fact been long contemplated by the British government, on the broad principle that it entails an annual loss on the community of about £1,500,000, without conferring a real benefit on any one class.

It would be quite at variance with our present design to describe the effects which are likely to result from this change. In general terms we must state our conviction that it will be beneficial not only to the mother

country but to the colony. The great question is,—Has Canada other means of employing her capital and labour, independently of the timber-trade; and the answer is, that she has such means, and, moreover, that there is not the slightest impediment to prevent the transfer.

At the commencement of this chapter we enumerated seven classes of products as forming her staple commodities. Of these a portion of one only is threatened, and the industry and capital thereby liberated will find employment in the others. Here a second question arises,—Would industry be as productive in these as in the timber-trade? There is ground for believing that it would be more so. That trade has been compared to a lottery wherein the prizes are extremely high, but the blanks numerous. The persons who embark in it make no sober calculation of the average profits,—they throw for the high prizes, and the result is often a real loss. The price of timber in Canada is trifling; but in England, being augmented by high charges, it is five times the original cost; so that a fluctuation of 20 per cent. on the price in this country amounts either to a total loss or a profit of 100 per cent. Hence a trifling decline in our market is completely ruinous to the colonial shipper. Being thus in some measure a gambling enterprise, speculations in timber are extremely seductive, and have now the effect of drawing capital from more profitable employments, to which it will again flow whenever the question is settled.

To prove the facility of the transfer, it will be only necessary to observe, that the capital employed in the preparation of timber is principally of a floating description; consisting of the subsistence of the labourer, which must be advanced him, and of the value of the stock waiting sale at Quebec. This could of course be realized and transferred at once without any difficulty. With regard to the fixed capital, such as mills and wharfs, we have already seen that the increasing demand for sawn timber for the American and West India markets, added to the home consumption, will employ the whole, and

probably at no very distant period call new machinery into operation. The mills of Lower Canada have been valued at £145,000, producing 2,338,000 pieces of deals. But the total export of deals from both provinces is only 2,250,000; hence that portion of the mill-property in both provinces engaged in cutting for export would not probably exceed £150,000,—a sum utterly insignificant when compared with other features of the trade.

Inasmuch, then, as the productive industry and exportable surplus of the Canadas will not be permanently impaired by the contemplated alteration of the timber-duties, it follows that the trade in British goods will suffer no diminution; so that our manufacturers will get the benefit of the new market, which cannot fail to spring up in the northern states of Europe as a consequence of the increased demand for their timber. Before the countries on the Baltic were deprived of this trade by the imposition of high duties, they were our customers to a considerable extent; and that they will again become so on its restoration appears abundantly certain. If our readers, however, feel any doubt on this point, we must refer to the evidence of Mr Norman and Mr Solly, given before the Committee on the Timber-trade in 1834.

In writing on this subject we are not absolutely called upon to trace the effects of the proposed alteration on our shipping; nevertheless, it may not be amiss to indicate the general state of the argument.

The vessels employed in conveying timber from our provinces in America to Great Britain and Ireland were, in the year 1834, computed at 684, measuring 204,000 tons, and navigated by 8700 men. But a portion of the timber-trade, occupying 111 ships, measuring 36,000 tons, and worked by 1400 men, would be retained by the colonies. Hence the net quantity of shipping reduced to seek other employment will be

Ships.	Tons.	Men.
573	167,400	7300

The owners of second-class vessels say these would be thrown out of employment,—the friends of free trade say No ;—a portion will find employment in the Baltic trade. The opponents of the proposed measure merely urge as an argument their original proposition in other terms,—and therefore beg the question. They say we can neither build nor sail so cheaply as the people in the north of Europe, therefore we must be beaten at open competition. The other party reply in sundry ways,—*first*, they bring proof that the British shipowner *actually does* compete with foreign owners. On the average of ten years, ending with 1834, the competition was tolerably equal, as there were imported from the north of Europe,—

In British ships.....69,806 loads.
In foreign ships of all countries.....75,766 ...

Now, it is quite clear, that what they now do, they will be much better able to do, when timber, the raw material of ships, shall be reduced in price by the reduction of duty.

Then, with regard to the argument, that foreigners can build more cheaply, even if we admit for the present purpose its full force, it does not touch the question. For, if Norway could build at half the price of England, she still could not enter into competition with our enormous stock of old ships,—a stock which our immense mercantile navy must always keep up. Other countries build inferior ships. Great Britain merely waits till her best ships become inferior by wear and tear. From this circumstance, our shipowners must almost monopolize the second class carrying-trade, or, at all events, share it with no other nation besides the Americans.

Much direct and positive evidence was given before the timber-trade committee in 1834 on the above points ;* whence we must confess we feel no apprehension that our

* See Mr Norman's evidence, 743, *et seq.* ; and Mr I. Solly's evidence, 1617, *et seq.*

commercial marine will be injured by the change. The whole quantity of shipping exposed to the hazard of being thrown out of employment will be about 42,000 tons, arising from the shorter duration of the Baltic voyage. A portion of this will be absorbed by the increased export of other articles from America, and by the intercolonial coal-trade, which will be so much stimulated by the change of duties, that coals will no longer go to Canada from Newcastle, as ballast, without paying freight. It is therefore manifest that the cessation of employment will be small indeed; not more in fact than will be met by the wear, tear, and loss of ships, amounting on the average to 97,000 tons annually, and which will in less than a year reduce the supply within the limits of the demand.

4. PRODUCE OF THE FISHERIES.—All the North American colonies, especially Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, engage in the fisheries; but in Canada this branch of industry is subordinate to agriculture and the manufacture of ashes. Still the gulf and lower portion of the St Lawrence furnish a considerable quantity of fish and oil for home consumption, and leave a small surplus for export. Of this, the following is a statement for the year 1835 :—

Cod-fish, dry	cwts.	53,744	Herrings	boxes	50
do. pickled	packs	260	Mackerel	barrels	388
do. sounds	barrels	8	Shad		3
Salmon	tierces	286	Fish-oil	gallons	11,411
do.	barrels	219	Blubber		270
do.	kits	21	Seal-skins	packs	...
Herrings	barrels	401	do.	loose	600

It ought to be remarked that this trade is not increasing.

5. FURS AND PELTRIES.—Montreal was formerly the emporium of a very considerable portion of the fur-trade, which was carried on by two rival companies,—the Hudson's Bay and the North-west. After the failure of the latter association, most of the skins were carried direct to the residents at Hudson's Bay, who have an establishment also at La Chine, near Montreal. But

although not a single bale of furs were shipped from that city, we should be justified in ranking the fur-trade among the resources of Canada, because a large importation of British goods takes place through Montreal, and wages are paid to the hunters by drafts on the Company in London. There is, however, a small though not an increasing exportation of this article from Canada, as will appear from the following account for 1835 :—

Beaver Skins	9150	Racoon	165
Bear and Cub	268	Wolverine	26
Buffalo	88	Martins' Tails	713
Fisher	284	Cat	7
Fox	1473	Deer	24
Lynx	202	Elk	27
Mink	4894	Hare, Rabbit	113
Musk Rat	56.888		
Martin	8907	Wolf	5
Otter	2068	Castorum, lbs.	298

6. MANUFACTURES.—Of the principal manufacture in the Canadas, namely that of ashes, we have already treated in a former section ; we now, therefore, proceed to notice such other articles as have gradually sprung up in the two provinces.

In a country covered during a great part of the year with snow, the business of agriculture is for the most part necessarily suspended. Under such circumstances, the farmer naturally seeks for his family such occupations as can be carried on within doors : and what so obvious and useful as domestic manufactures ?

Accordingly, we find that the coat of the Canadian farmer, or *habitant*, as he is sometimes called, is usually of a kind of gray homespun, or *étoffe du pays*, a warm and substantial cloth, made of mixed wool of good quality. In the lower province this gray coat, with a red cap and coloured sash, may be considered a national dress, so that the extent of the manufacture must be considerable.

In addition to this *étoffe du pays*, a coarse kind of cotton is made, but only in small quantities. Coarse linens are also produced ; and at the prize-shows of the

agricultural societies samples of sheeting are occasionally exhibited quite equal to that of Russia.

In every Canadian house are to be seen carpets and mats formed of threads obtained from old materials.

Straw-hats are also made, as well as a kind of grass-hat and bonnet, not inferior to fine leghorn. Worsted stockings and socks, together with red caps and leather mittens lined with blanket or hare-skin, are very common.

Besides these manufactures, there are others, some of which furnish commodities for exportation; among the most important of which are iron and iron-wares. This metal, in various states, is found abundantly in Canada; but that which is worked at the smallest expense is known as bog-ore. On the St Maurice, about nine miles above the town of Three Rivers, is an iron-work in active operation. It forms part of the Jesuits' estates, and supplies a large proportion of the stoves made use of in the country. Of these, about three hundred and fifty are annually exported to the other colonies, besides a considerable number of ploughs and axes, which are highly esteemed. Nails are also cut near Montreal.

Soap and candles, at one time wholly imported from England, are now manufactured to some extent in the principal towns. The quantity of the former exported in 1833 was 5664 lbs.; in 1834, 35,030 lbs.; and in 1835, 59,772 lbs., showing a progressive increase. Of candles, the export in 1833 was 12,717 lbs.; in 1834, 20,751 lbs.; and in 1835, 21,336 lbs.

Leather is also tanned to a considerable extent, not only in the neighbourhood of Quebec and Montreal, but also in almost every parish in Canada. Near the latter city is a considerable village commonly called "The Tanneries." Almost every *habitant* has a mocassin (a kind of shoe without seam at the bottom) made of native leather, besides which about 10,000 lbs. are exported.

Linseed oil is another manufacture introduced within the last six or eight years. It increases greatly, and

furnishes a corresponding surplus for export, the quantity in 1833 being 208 gallons; in 1834, 271 gallons; and in 1835, 994 gallons, besides about 100 tons of oil-cake.

Ale and beer of excellent quality are coming into extensive use in both provinces. Ten years ago the latter beverage was not seen except in the principal towns; now it is to be found in almost every country inn. The quality of the ale is excellent, and about 20,000 gallons are annually shipped to the West Indies and other colonies.

Whisky is largely produced in both the Canadas, but that of the lower province is most esteemed. This spirit, aided by malt liquor, has contributed to keep down the consumption of rum, which has not increased since 1820, though the population has more than doubled.

One of the most interesting manufactures, if such it can be called, is that of maple-sugar; which is, in fact, nothing more than the evaporated sap of the maple-tree (*Acer saccharinum*) cast into moulds about the size of a brick. The quantity produced in the two provinces has been reckoned at 32,500 cwts., equal to more than 2000 hhds. of West India sugar.

Bricks are made near Montreal, and a large portion or entire suburb of the town is built of them. For resisting the effects of climate, they are considered better than the English; but as the supply does not keep pace with the demand, about 500,000 are still imported from the mother-country.

Starch, blue, cider, and a few other articles, are also made in Canada, but in so small quantities as to render them unworthy of notice. The quality of the cider, however, is very superior, especially when "concentrated" or frozen, and the icy, that is the aqueous portion, thrown away. Cordage is also manufactured, partly from native and partly from imported hemp.

We had almost forgotten to mention paper, which is every where rising into importance. There are several

mills in both provinces, and at one,—that at Jacques Cartier, near Quebec,—an article of excellent quality is made.

It is to be observed that these manufactures, with the exception of whisky, exist wholly without protection. The duty on British goods, whether of cotton, linen, or iron, is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which merely operates as a source of *revenue* and as nothing else. The duty on foreign spirits, however, is high enough to encourage the native production. It is 1s. 1d. on rum and 1s. 7d. on brandy, which is about 50 per cent. in the one case, and 45 per cent. in the other. Domestic manufactures are supported more by the habits of the people than by cheapness. In fact, the *étoffe du pays* is imitated in Great Britain at a much lower price than the Canadian cloth usually sells at in the native markets.

7. SHIP-BUILDING is an important employment in all the North American Colonies. The following is a statement of the number of the vessels built in Canada during the eleven years ending 1835, with their tonnage :—

Year.	Ships.	Tons.	Year.	Ships.	Tons.
1825	61	22,625	1831	9	3,250
1826	59	17,823	1832	13	3,952
1827	35	7,540	1833	11	4,601
1828	30	7,272	1834	18	8,382
1829	21	5,465	1835	14	6,768
1830	11	3,059	Average	26	8,249

These ships are built of oak, and are of much better workmanship than those of the lower provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which for the most part are constructed of pine. The character of the Canadian build is much higher than it was a few years since,—the Quebec and Montreal shipwrights being men of respectability and character. The number of ships built in 1836 was 22, measuring 10,086 tons.

SECTION II.—IMPORT TRADE.

We have now given as comprehensive a view as our limits will permit, of the productive industry and re-

sources, in other words, of what forms the "purchase-money" of the Canadas; it now remains to point out in what manner that purchase-money is laid out.

The following Table will exhibit the value of imports, distinguishing the sources whence the same were received:—

From	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Value of goods, chiefly British, paying 2½ p. c.	Value of other goods.
Great Britain	779	249,845	10,746	£1,329,215	£255,552
Ireland	163	47,264	2,071	8,122	4,913
Jersey	1	220	12	440	102
Gibraltar	5	583	34	2,651	4,140
France	9	2,309	81	1,296	1,426
Spain	1	195	10	0	0
Portugal	3	493	26	432	1,600
Holland	2	545	25	0	18
Belgium	7	1,922	84	0	0
Brit. Amer. Colonies	169	17,254	835	2,261	83,572
British West Indies	40	5,825	303	498	195,026
United States	24	5,507	273	4,824	10,464
Other parts	4	1,257	54	0	0
Total	1207	333,219	14,554	... ...	£556,813
At Gaspé	47	6,700	371	... ...	7,060
New Carlisle	38	5,501	298	... ...	3,553
Total	1292	345,420	15,223	£1,349,739	£567,426
Grand total sterling					£1,917,265
Currency					2,300,598

The importation and consumption of these provinces we shall describe under the following heads:—

1. British Manufactures.
2. East and West India Produce.
3. Spirits and Wines.
4. Miscellaneous Articles.

1. British Manufactures, it will be seen by the foregoing Table, form a very large share of the whole importation. In 1835 the total value of articles imported was £2,300,598 currency,* of which £1,620,000 was for English commodities. Of the remaining £680,000, paid in the purchase of foreign goods, nearly half, or

* The money and exchanges are explained at page 40.

£306,662, was imported from Great Britain in British ships. To give an idea of the progress of consumption, it will be sufficient to state that in 1827 the importation from the mother-country amounted to little more than £1,000,000 currency; that the average of the five years ending 1832 was £1,323,000; whilst the sum for 1835, as we have stated, exceeded £1,600,000.

Of the British manufactures consumed we can only give a general description. From the manner in which the official statements are published in Canada no detail of quantities can be obtained; all such commodities being classed together as "goods paying 2½ per cent. duty." From a return of the importation of 1833, we find that, estimating the whole amount, that is, articles of all kinds, from all places, at 1000, British piece-goods form no less than 360 parts, divided as follows:—

Whole importation	1000	
Woollen Manufactures	153	parts.
Cotton ditto	147	
Linen ditto	31	
Silk ditto	29	
	360	

The large proportion of woollen goods arises from the severity of the climate,—a circumstance which also accounts for the kinds chiefly in demand. They are mostly of the coarser and warmer sorts, such as blankets, flushings, flannels, and the coarse cloths produced in the manufacturing towns of Yorkshire. The plain and simple habits of the people have a considerable effect on consumption, and to this circumstance is owing the small proportion of silks and linens required. The large quantity of cottons shows that, although the inhabitants are far from luxurious on the one hand, they are equally removed from indigence on the other.

These cottons are chiefly power-loom shirtings, striped and checked cloths, printed calicoes, ginghams, muslins, cambrics, and also fustians, velveteens, and similar fabrics. They are usually obtained from Manchester and

Glasgow. The linens are supplied by Dundee and Belfast,—the coarser kinds from the former town, the finer from the latter. Silks and fancy goods are sent out by the general merchants resident in London.

The iron-trade in Canada is extremely important. We stated in a former part of this chapter, that there were some iron-works in the provinces; they do not, however, produce a sufficiency for consumption, and hence the demand from England is considerable. We have in our possession a statement of the average importation down to 1834, which is probably somewhat less than the amount to which it has now attained. It is as follows:—

Flat and Round, tons	1,062	Canada Plates...boxes	6,505
Flat.....bars	164,558	Nails.....packages	10,296
Ditto.....bundles	10,605	Ovens and Pans ...	9,567
Hoop..... ...	18,725	Frying Pans.....bundles	810
Pig.....tons	830	Spades & Shovels ...	2,749
Sheet.....bundles	2,386	Tin Plates.....boxes	6,080

This Table was derived from a private source, and is as accurate as the imperfect weekly returns will permit; but to give an idea how little the Canadian custom-house entries are to be relied on, we may state that stoves and steam-engines are both described as so many "pieces of castings!" Hardware is not included in the above list, nor could it be. We may, however, mention, that there are in Montreal several houses who confine themselves to this trade, and import largely. Bristol and Liverpool furnish the wrought iron goods; Glasgow the castings; and Birmingham and Sheffield, of course, supply the hardware.

There are many other articles coming under the head of manufactures which must not be omitted, more especially as many of them find rival productions in the provinces to compete with them.

Bricks, we have already stated, are imported, although some are made in Canada. The supply of these last, however, does not keep pace with building, as the consumption of English bricks is still increasing. In 1831,

276,000 were imported; in 1832, 440,000; and in 1833, not fewer than 533,000.

Earthenware has not varied thirty packages for the three years ending 1833,—the average importation being 3350 crates. Glassware is also increasing; the chief article is window-glass, the importation of which, between 1831 and 1833, rose from 10,000 to 17,000 boxes.

The importation of soap and candles has also augmented, notwithstanding an increased production. In 1831, 256 boxes of candles and 6314 of soap were received; in 1832, the quantity had risen to 809 of the former and 9760 of the latter, whilst in 1833 the number of boxes amounted respectively to 1314 and 14,752. The great increase of 1833 was in consequence of a large exportation from Great Britain to obtain drawback, which ceased in that year.

Few other articles require notice under this general head. Blacking is consumed to the extent of about 1500 casks; linseed oil, 900 casks; olive oil, 230 pipes and 150 boxes; palm oil, about 150 casks (250 in 1833); tobacco-pipes, 3000 boxes; gunpowder, 2000 packages; and, lastly, starch, 1200 boxes.

2. East and West India Produce.—The importation and consumption of rum have been stationary for many years. This is owing to several causes; namely, to the increased distillation of whisky, already noticed, to the growing taste of the people for beer, and to the great efforts of the temperance societies, which, it is believed, have diminished the use of spirits generally. Rum is drunk chiefly in Lower Canada, whilst whisky is preferred in the upper province.

The average importation of rum for the five years ending with 1833 was 1,189,262 gallons; that of 1835 was only 976,058 gallons; and the annual consumption may be estimated at 10,000 puncheons. The importation last year was only 524,440 gallons.

Whilst the demand for rum has been thus stationary, the quantity of sugar required has steadily increased. The average importation of the five years ending in 1832

was 4,603,993 lbs., that of 1835, 4,572,941 lbs. A high price indicated that this quantity was not sufficient for consumption, which may therefore be estimated at about 3500 hhds. of 15 cwt. each, or 5,880,000 lbs., the mean importation of 1831-32. The refined sugar brought in during the same period averaged 914,575 lbs.; in 1835 it was 1,410,999; and as the price was not below a remunerating rate, the average consumption may be stated at 1000 hhds. of 12 cwt. each, or 1,344,000 lbs. Taking maple-sugar into the account, we have the following estimate of the total consumption of sugar of all kinds in the two Canadas :—

	lbs.		hhds.
Raw sugar	5,880,000	or	3500
Refined ditto	1,344,000	or	1000
Maple ditto	3,640,000	or	2200
	10,864,000		6700

or about 10 lbs. of sugar per annum to every individual. Last year the supply of raw sugar was small, being only 3,154,215 lbs.; that of refined sugars was unusually large, namely, 2,357,025 lbs. The two together, 5,513,240, were, however, far below the consumption.

The quantity of molasses used is about 1200 puncheons. It will probably increase, as distillation from this article has lately been introduced in imitation of the New Englanders. Of coffee the consumption cannot be ascertained, as a considerable portion is brought from the United States, and some smuggled; of pimento, about 120 bags are required; and of pepper about 1800.

We can give no satisfactory information as to the consumption of tea in Canada, owing to the peculiar state of the trade. For the last eight or ten years the market has been supplied by the East India Company direct from China. Their importations were very irregular, but they always kept a large stock, which is not yet sold off. Owing to the economical manner in which the United States conduct this branch of commerce, a great deal of smuggling has been carried on in spite of the

Company; but as the trade of the colony is now in private hands, it is probable that this evil will entirely cease.

The following is a statement of the importation of tea into Canada in 1836 :—

	lbs.
From Great Britain	513,720
From British American Provinces	35,590
From China	132,576
	681,886

The West India produce consumed is for the most part imported direct from the place of growth, and chiefly from Grenada, Jamaica, and Demerara. Halifax in Nova Scotia has recently become an entrepot for exchanging the productions of Canada and the West Indies; the former paying for her purchases in flour and other provisions. St John in Newfoundland also enjoys a small intercolonial trade.

3. Spirits and Wines.—We have already given the importation of rum under the foregoing head; it remains only to state that of brandy and gin. The demand for both these articles has been progressively increasing during the last few years, more especially for brandy, which rose into high estimation during the prevalence of cholera in 1832. The average supply for the five previous years was 109,092 gallons; in 1832 it was 184,000; and in 1835 not less than 283,000 gallons. As the population increases in wealth, it is likely to be substituted for other liquors, and the quality of that now obtained is certainly much better than it was a few years ago. The average importation of gin during the five years ending 1832 was 61,000 gallons, or about 500 pipes; the quantity landed in 1835 was 92,000 gallons. The present consumption of brandy cannot be much less than 1800 pipes, that of gin 750.

Of wines, the total consumption of all kinds has been estimated at 3500 pipes, distinguished as follows :—

Port	500
Madeira	200
Sherry	200
Teneriffe, and other low white wines	700
Spanish, and other low red wines	1600
French, German, &c.	300
	3500

There is every reason to believe that the above estimate may be relied on. But, to enable the reader to form his own judgment, we add a statement of the average importation of the five years ending 1832, compared with that in 1835 and 1836. It will be seen that the importation of 1835 was small, being not more than 1600 pipes, whilst that of 1836 was excessive, being fully 5000 pipes :—

Description of Wine.	Importation.		
	Average of five years ending 1832.	1835.	1836.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
Port	54,910	93,400	12,080
Madeira	21,293	17,000	482,149
Teneriffe, &c.	69,415	23,955	43,056
Spanish, &c.	99,748	25,100	33,800
Other kinds	53,658	44,000	36,000
Total	299,003	183,455	607,085

London enjoys the chief part of this trade to Canada, as there is a discriminating duty of £7, 7s. per tun of 252 gallons on wines "direct from the place of growth." A considerable quantity of low white and red wines is brought from the Mediterranean, after having been landed at Gibraltar. By this expedient the high duty is avoided.

4. Miscellaneous Articles.—Coals, salt, and fruits, remain to be noticed. The first and second of these are imported from Great Britain as ballast; hence, if they sell at a price to cover cost, shipping charges, and a profit on the outlay, the shipowner is content. The consumption is about 25,000 tons, and is rapidly increasing; though the trade will certainly experience a change on any alteration taking place in the duties on

timber. At present the shipowner looks to the homeward freight of 45s. to 50s. per load to pay him. When coals shall cease to be carried as ballast, the price will advance slightly in Quebec and Montreal; and this will enable the coal-owners of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton to come into the market. The steam-boats now use coals mixed with wood, which is found to generate steam very rapidly, so that the consumption is likely to increase to an indefinite extent. The western parts of Upper Canada will probably be supplied from Ohio or from native mines, as the expense of transport must render a supply by sea almost impossible.

The curing of provisions being a growing branch of Canadian industry, the consumption of salt is considerable. The average importation of the five years ending 1832 was 286,000 minots; that of 1835 was only 228,000, which was a decidedly short supply. The importation of 1836 was 281,588 bushels; but as the price continued very high up to the latest accounts, the consumption is greater than the amount now specified. The annual demand may be considered about 10,000 tons, and is supplied from Liverpool, St Ubes, Lisbon, the native salt-springs, and the salt-works of Salina, in the state of New York.

The use of dried fruits in Canada is becoming worthy of notice in a commercial point of view. They are imported from Malaga and Gibraltar, with wines, spirits, oils, fresh fruits, and other Mediterranean productions. The average arrival for the three years ending 1833 is as follows, and the figures may be taken as a fair indication of the present demand:—

Raisins	boxes	10,000
Ditto	barrels	1,800
Figs	packages	1,400
Almonds	...	500

Tallow is imported for the use of the Quebec and Montreal soap-boilers, to the extent of about 800 casks from Great Britain, besides 250 casks and 800 barrels from the United States and Upper Canada: a consider-

able quantity of palm-oil is likewise imported for the same destination. For the rope-walks already alluded to about 250 tons of hemp are also required.

We have stated in a former part of this chapter, that the total value of the articles imported into Canada in 1835 was no less than £2,300,000 currency. The exports, on the other hand, do not altogether exceed £1,800,000, including the various commodities smuggled into the United States, and the wood sawn for the same market, of which no account is kept. How then is the balance of £600,000 liquidated? By the funds brought into the colony by immigrants, by Government expenditure, and by the transfer of capital from this country for investment in the colony. This brings a market to the farmer's door for produce, which under other circumstances he would send to a foreign market, and causes an importation of goods for which no remittance has to be made. If it be found that importation annually exceeds exportation by five, six, or seven hundred thousand pounds, *without raising the rate of exchange*, we may be sure that such balance represents capital drawn from other sources, such as those which we have just enumerated.

A notion of the inland trade with the United States may be gathered from what has been already stated. A portion of the ashes, flour, and other provisions consumed in Canada, are derived from thence. In early spring, teas, coffee, fruits, tobacco, and various groceries, are imported from New York by the way of Lake Champlain. The exports at St John, on that lake, the chief seat of this trade, amounted, in 1832, to £8197; and the imports to £146,807. In 1833, the former were £20,500, the latter £104,500. Of the imports fully two-thirds consisted of agricultural produce. There entered this port in 1833, inwards, 336 vessels, 68,513 tons, and 2336 men; outwards, 326 vessels, 68,493 tons, and 2324 men. An intercourse with the United States is also carried on from different points in Upper Canada, the duties on which amounted, in 1835, to above £10,000.

Of this there was paid at Toronto £3750; Kingston, £1517; Burlington, £1438; Port-Stanley, £835; Brockville, £549. When commodities are exported on American account, the transmission of a bill of exchange on New York easily closes the transaction. Shipments are also made to the West Indies from that city, as well as some of the more southern towns, by order of Canadian houses. These are usually paid for by drafts on London.

SECTION III.—MONEY, BANKS, DUTIES, &c.

There are a few subjects which remain to be illustrated in order to complete this chapter; they are,

1. MONEY AND EXCHANGES.
2. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.
3. BANKS.
4. TARIFF OF DUTIES.
5. INLAND COMMUNICATION.

1. MONEY AND EXCHANGES.—In the Canadas accounts are kept and sales and purchases are made in pounds, shillings, and pence, *Halifax currency*. This currency is about 20 per cent. inferior to the British, though the denominations and proportions are the same. The pound currency is four Spanish dollars, each dollar being called 5s. But the average value of the dollar in the London market is only 4s. 2d.; hence 4s. 2d. sterling = 5s. currency; or 16s. 8d. sterling = £1 currency; or £100 sterling = £120 currency.

This is a very simple statement, and can be understood by any one; but from the language of exchange made use of in Canada, the comparison puzzles almost every body, including even many of the mercantile class, to whom the terms are necessarily familiar.

The cause of this difficulty is the assumption of a par of exchange departing very widely from the average value of the currency. This erroneous par is 4s. 6d. taken as the value of the dollar, or £90 sterling equal to £100 currency; the rule being, add *one-ninth* to sterling to obtain currency. To make up the difference between the erroneous par and the average value of the currency,—say the approximate par,—it is necessary to

make use of a nominal premium of exchange. Thus, when exchange is really wholly undisturbed, or, in other words, at par (£100 sterling selling for £120 currency), it is said to be at 8 per cent. premium. Thus,

Bill on London sterling, £100; or dollar sterling		£0	4	2
Premium 8 per cent.	8	0	0	4
	108	0	4	6
Add *one-ninth*,	12	0	0	6
Value of £100 st., currency 120, or value of dollar		0	5	0 cur.

The better way would be to quote the dollar, or the pound, or the £100, at what each is respectively worth. Government exchange is thus quoted, so are sovereigns; but the merchant still persists in adopting language which must of necessity mislead even him who uses it. The commissary-general of Canada quotes his drafts at 4s. 2d. or 4s. 1¾d. per dollar, as the case may be; that is, on being paid so many times 5s. currency, he will deliver a bill on the treasury of as many times 4s. 2d. or 4s. 1¾d. sterling. Sovereigns are quoted in the Canadian price-lists at 24s. currency (more or less). Thus 4s. 2d. sterling per dollar; 24s. currency per sovereign; exchange at 8 per cent. premium; and £100 sterling = £120 currency, all mean the same state of the exchange. Fluctuations in the rate of exchange of course revolve round the nominal premium of 8 per cent. as around a pivot, so that 6 per cent. premium is in fact 2 discount, and 10 per cent. only 2 premium.

2. Weights and Measures.—The weights and measures generally in use are those of Great Britain, but with the old English measures of capacity. The *minot*, sometimes used in Lower Canada, is an old French measure, 90 of which are commonly estimated at 100 English or Winchester bushels, although the true proportion is from 90 to 98.

3. Banks.—In Lower Canada there are four banks, and two others are about to be put in operation. Those already established are the Montreal Bank, with a capital of £250,000; the (Montreal) City Bank, capi-

tal £200,000; the People's Bank, capital paid up £75,000; and Quebec Bank, capital £75,000; giving the amount of banking capital employed in this province £600,000. The houses about to commence business are the Bank of North America,* the chief office of which is in London, and a country bank at Trois Rivières. The former of these will have an office at Montreal and Quebec, at which last the Montreal Bank has also a branch; so that there will be in Lower Canada six banks, having eight offices, and employing an aggregate capital of about £800,000.

The value of the notes circulated by the four banks now in operation amounts to about £400,000; the deposits to nearly £400,000 more; and the loans they are enabled to make to the public average about £1,200,000; while the aggregate reserve of specie kept as a safeguard against sudden calls is not quite £200,000.

The banks in the upper province are four in number, and possibly by this time five;—the Bank of Upper Canada, with a capital of £200,000, that of Kingston, or the Midland District, with a capital of £100,000, together with the Agricultural and People's Banks, the paid capital of which probably amounts to £100,000 more. This will make the banking capital in that province £400,000, enjoying a circulation of £400,000, deposits to the amount of nearly £300,000, and lending to the public by way of discount about £800,000 or £900,000, with a reserve of specie falling somewhat short of £200,000.

The Bank of North America is expected to have a branch at Toronto; besides which the following applications to the legislature for additional charters are advertised in the official Gazette.

1.	To increase the capital of the Bank of U. C. to.....	£500,000
2.	do. do. of the Commercial Bank to ..	500,000
3.	For a Bank in Prince Edward District.....capital	100,000
4.	Do..... Niagara.....do.	200,000
5.	Do.....Dundas.....do.	100,000
6.	Do.....Western District.....do.	200,000
7.	Do.....Brockville.....do.	200,000

* It has since commenced.

8.	For a Bank in St Catherines	capital not stated.	
9.	Do	Cobourg	do. do.
10.	Do	Prescott	do. £100,000
11.	Do	Chatham	do. 50,000

Should all these applications be granted, they would raise the total banking capital of Upper Canada to upwards of £2,000,000; a sum far from excessive when compared with the population and trade, according to the proportions which obtain in other commercial countries.

All the banks, with the exception of the People's Bank of Montreal, and the Agricultural Bank of Toronto, are on the American principle of limited liability. The People's Bank of Lower Canada is an association *en commandité;* that is, the directors are liable for all engagements, whilst the risk of the shareholders is confined to the amount of their contributions. By this law the public has the additional security of the whole property of the managing directors, with all the advantage of skill, prudence, and vigilance, which joint-stock banks do not provide.*

In Lower Canada there is a growing feeling against special charters. Those of the existing banks expired in 1837, and were temporarily renewed by the authority of the crown. A general law will probably be hereafter passed by the Assembly, providing for the publication of accounts, and giving the president or cashier the power of suing and being sued, with such simple regulations as may be deemed necessary; leaving it to the parties to declare themselves a *societé en commandité*, or remain an ordinary partnership, as they shall judge the one or the other most likely to gain them the confidence of the public.

4. TARIFF.—The duties on imported goods levied in Canada are imposed partly by the authority of the British government, and partly by that of the colonial legislature. The former are called *crown duties*, and the

* See a treatise on the commandite principle by the writer of this chapter, entitled, "The Safety-principle of Joint Stock Banks and other Companies, exhibited in a Modification of the Law of Partnership." 8vo, M'Crone. London, 1837.

latter *provincial duties;* the first being in sterling money, and the latter in currency.

In charging the duties, the dollar is received at 4s. 4d., which is 2d. less than the old par, but 2d. more than its real value.

The provincial duties have no object besides the increase of revenue, not discriminating in any way with respect to the sources of supply; all commercial restrictions being contrary to the spirit of Canadian legislation. The crown duties, on the other hand, seem to be framed rather for the purpose of forcing the trade into particular channels, than for simple revenue; and the royal receipts are certainly trifling compared with what they would be were the imports equalized.

The following is a table of the principal duties, crown and provincial:—

	Crown, sterling. £ s. d.	Provincial, currency. d.
Wine. In wood from the United Kingdom		
Madeira . . . per tun	0 10 0	per gal. 9
French	... ...	... 6
All other wines	0 10 0	... 6
And further on all wines,* per cent.	7 10 0	
In bottles, if bottled in the United Kingdom, the same as in wood.		
Not bottled in the United Kingdom, an additional duty† per tun .	7 7 0	
And for every dozen of foreign bottles	0 1 0	
In wood from Gibraltar and Malta the same duty as wine in wood from the United Kingdom.		
In bottles the same as in bottles from the place of growth.		
Wine from place of growth.		
Madeira . . per tun	7 0 0	... 9
All others, *except French* .	7 0 0	... 6
And further* . . per cent.	7 10 0	

* This further duty is only charged when its amount, if any, shall exceed that of the previous duties, in which case the excess is payable (3d and 4th William IV., c. 59, sect. 11); but this is not likely to occur except with very high-priced wines; it may therefore be considered as almost nominal.

† This further duty will, in every case, exceed the previous duties: the excess will therefore be charged; the amount payable cannot, however, be shown by the table, and it will vary according to the value of the article.

	Crown, sterling. £ s. d.	Provincial, currency. d.
In bottles, a further* duty per tun	7 7 0	
And every dozen of bottles .	0 1 0	
Spirits from the United Kingdom or the British Colonies:		
Brandy, foreign . . per gal.	0 1 0	... 6
Geneva, ditto	0 1 0	... 6
Cordials, ditto	0 1 0	... 6
Rum	0 1 0	... 6
Ditto, British Plantation ...	0 0 6	... 6
Whisky, British	0 0 3	... 3
..... Foreign	0 1 0	... 6
Molasses, British Plantation	0 0 1	... 5
And further, if foreign.		
From place of growth, brandy and all spirits . . per gal.	0 1 3	... 6
Coffee from the United Kingdom and British Plantations . per lb.	... ...	per lb. 2
If foreign . . per cwt.	0 5 0	... 2
Cocoa, foreign	0 5 0	per cent. 2½
British Plantation . . .	... ...	... 2½
Sugar, refined, British or Colonial, per lb.	... ...	per lb. 1
Foreign† . . . per cent.	20 0 0	... 1
Muscovado, British Plantation .	... ...	... 0½
Foreign . . . per cwt.	0 5 0	... 0½
Pimento from the Colonies per lb.	0 0 6½	per cent. 2½
From the United Kingdom ...	... ...	... 2½
Teas, Hyson	... ...	per lb. 6
... Bohea	... ...	... 2
... all others	... ...	... 4
Tobacco, British manufactured ...	... ...	... 3
..... Foreign† ditto . per cent.	20 0 0	... 3
..... Leaf† ditto	20 0 0	... 2
Snuff, British manufactured .	... ...	... 4
..... Foreign† . . per cent.	20 0 0	... 4
Playing Cards . . per pack	... ...	... 2
Salt‡ . . . . . per minot	... ...	... 4
All goods, wares, and merchandise not otherwise specified . . .	... ...	2½ per cent.

Nearly all British manufactures fall under the last condition, and pay an *ad valorem* duty of 2½ per cent.

In addition to the crown duties specified above, the act 3d and 4th Wm. IV., c. 59, imposes others of 7½, 15, 20, and 30 per cent.; but, as in most cases they amount to a prohibition, they are seldom levied. The

* See Note †, p. 44. † See Note *, ibid.

‡ This duty is drawn back if the salt be reshipped for the use of the fisheries.

duty of 7½ per cent. is occasionally paid, but the excess only is levied; so that when the goods are liable to the provincial duty of 2½ per cent., 5 per cent. only is payable to the crown.

The duty of £7 per tun on wines from the place of growth, is not unfrequently paid; so that the Canadians may be said to be taxed to that extent for the purpose of forcing a circuitous trade in place of one that is direct. For this exaction they are but ill requited by the monopoly of timber to the British market,—a restriction which entails the greatest evil on those whom it professes to benefit.

5. INLAND COMMUNICATIONS.—The people of Canada are scattered over a vast extent of country, some parts of which are 800 or 900 miles distant from the port of Quebec, and 600 or 700 from that of Montreal. But owing to the facility of communication by means of lakes and rivers, the expense of transport is comparatively small; and, from the improvements which are taking place in canals and railroads, this expense will soon be greatly reduced. The following table, drawn up by a gentleman largely engaged in the trade of the colony, may be relied on as correct:—

	To Montreal.										From Montreal.				
	Specified Goods.				Unspecified Goods.		Passage.		Passage.		Goods.		Distance.
	Ashes.	Wheat.	Flour.	Beef and Pork.	Weight.	Measure.	Cabin.*	Steerage.	Cabin.	Steerage.	Weight.	Measure.	
	Ton.	Bush.	Barrel.		Per Ton.		Each person.		Each person.		Per Ton.		Miles.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.		s.	s. d.	
Sandwich,†	52 6	1 10	6	0 8	3	52 6	5	2 6	6	5 4	5 0	6 10	40	123	120 0	812
Pt. Stanley,†	50 0	1	7	5	3 7	10	50 0	5	0	5 3	0	5 10	25	112	110 0	650
Buffalo,†	42 6	1	3	4	0 6		3	42 6	4	5 2	5	0	4 10	20	100	100 0	485
Queenston,‡	37 6	1	2	3	6 5		3	37 6	3	5 15	22	6	4 0	17	90	90 0	450
Sackett's Harbour,‡	32 6	0 11	3	0	4	6	32 6	3	2	0 10	17	6	2 10	12	80	80 0	230
Prescott, .	25 0	0	9	2	3 3	4	25 0	2	5	0 1	15	10	0	2 0	5	70	70 0	140
Quebec, .	..	..	..	..	..		7 6	1	0	0 1	5	5	0	1 0	4	5	7 6	180
New York,	..	..	..	..	..		40 0	5	0	3 10	..			3 10	..	..	..	386

* The cabin passage is in stage-coaches and steam-boats; the steerage passage is in Durham-boats or batteaux, and above Prescott on the deck of steam-boats.

† On Lake Erie. ‡ On Lake Ontario.

The river navigation of Canada is much obstructed by falls and rapids, to obviate which canals become necessary. These have accordingly been constructed on a very large scale, though not always in the most judicious manner. The first was the La Chine, formed to avoid the great rapid of the same name. It is above eight miles long, 48 feet wide, and 5 deep; the cost was £137,000 sterling. It has proved of great advantage,—about 2000 boats annually passing in each direction. In 1833, the tolls amounted to £7154, while the expenses being £1917, a revenue of £5237 accrued from it.

The Grenville and Rideau canals form a vast chain of internal navigation, reaching by a circuitous line from Montreal to Kingston. It was planned by the British government chiefly for military purposes, with a view to the transportation of supplies and stores from the lower to the upper province by an interior line not exposed to attack from an enemy. The La Chine is taken as its commencement. The line then passes to the Ottawa, and to avoid three successive obstacles,—the Long Sault, the Chûte à Blondeau, and the Carillon rapids,—the Grenville canal has been formed, divided into three corresponding parts, costing in all the sum of £267,254. The locks first constructed were 108 feet long and 20 broad; but subsequently, with a view to admit steam-vessels, they were enlarged to 134 feet long and 33 broad. Above this the navigation of the river is unobstructed as high as the Falls of the Chaudière. From these to Kingston and Lake Ontario, the Rideau canal has been formed, connecting together the river and lake of that name, and a chain of other waters, so as to form a navigable line 135 miles long. The original estimate was only £169,000, and the estimate on which the work was commenced was only £576,757; but, from circumstances which should have been foreseen, and from the enlargement of the original dimensions, its completion required £803,774.* The change of level

* Even this sum has since been considerably increased by accidents and repairs.

being 283 feet up from the Ottawa, and 154 down to Ontario, required forty-seven locks, costing £6000 each. The whole works have been constructed in the most excellent and substantial manner, and will, it is supposed, be proof even against the violent floods to which these rivers are subject. The increase of the dimensions, unfortunately, is as yet of no value, since the larger vessels for which it is intended cannot pass through the earlier part of the Grenville Canal, or through the La Chine. To enlarge the former, and connect it on the same scale with Montreal, would require an additional expenditure of £171,515, which the committee of 1832 did not feel themselves justified in recommending. An estimate made, in the same year, of the annual expense, was £18,799, including £10,000 for casualties; a sum which the tolls cannot be expected to defray, although this has become a regular passage into Upper Canada.

It is much to be regretted, in a commercial point of view, that this large sum had not been employed on the line of the St Lawrence, particularly in removing the obstructions on that river, which forms the most direct route into Upper Canada. To secure this object, the legislature of the latter country have engaged in extensive works, by which they hope to render Lake Ontario accessible to steamers and other large vessels. The estimate was £315,000; and the work being commenced in 1834, there had been spent upon it, at the end of 1835, not less than £126,000. This sum, however, would only carry the navigation to the frontier of Lower Canada; and farther operations will be required within that province to complete it.

There remains still the Welland Canal, a most important work, which, by avoiding the Falls of Niagara, connects Lakes Ontario and Erie, and opens a communication into the most interior parts of America. It is fifty-three miles long, fifty-six feet wide at the surface, and eight deep. The expense, down to the 1st January 1835, was £411,000, which large sum was raised by private individuals, with the exception of £100,000 lent by the

province, and £55,500 by the imperial government. It has been open since 1832, when the tolls amounted to £2432; in 1833 they had risen to £3618, and in 1834 to £4300, which, adding £982 for water privileges, made the whole revenue £5282; but deducting £3597 of expenses, there remained a net income of only £1685,—a most miserable return for so great an expenditure. The banks, however, during this period, are said to have fallen frequently out of repair, and the whole concern was not fully completed; but arrangements are now making for the purpose. The revenue cannot fail progressively to advance, were it only from its connecting together the two American provinces, that are rising most rapidly in wealth and culture.*

A railroad has been commenced through the London district, the object of which is to connect Lakes Ontario and Erie by a more northern route than the Welland Canal. A railroad and a canal have also been begun, proceeding from the Rice Lake, north of Ontario, to the borders of the latter, at Cobourg and Port-Hope. These will open the finest lands of the Newcastle District to the markets of Lower Canada.

In the spring of 1837, the Assembly passed the following votes for extensive and important improvements in the interior communications of Upper Canada:

Completion of Welland Canal	£245,000
Improving navigation of River Trent	77,500
Do. Grand River	12,500
Do. the Tay	750
Do. the Gananoqui and Wiltze	8,000
Desjardins Canal	5,000
Railroad from Lake Ontario through the Gore and London Districts	200,000
Do. from Toronto to Lake Huron (by Lake Simcoe and north of the Huron tract)	100,000
Do. between Lakes Ontario and Erie	5,000
Do. from Cobourg to Rice Lake	10,000

* Parliamentary Report on Canal Communications in Canada (29th June 1832), pp. 4, 5; 35; 41, 42. Evans' Agriculture in Canada; Supplement, pp. 1, 51-53, 100, 101. Pitkin's Historical View of United States, p. 549. M'Taggart's Three Years in Canada (2 vols 8vo, London, 1829), vol. i. pp. 165, 235, 236.

To macadamize Yonge Street, and others in Home District	£100,000
Do. road from Dundas to Waterloo	25,000
Do. road from Brockville to St Francis, Charleton, Lyndhurst, Beverley, and Portland	30,000
Do. road from Kingston to Napanee	30,000
Do. road from Hamilton to Brandtford	30,000
Do. road from Dundas Street to the Lake shore	2,500
Do. road from Queenston to western boundary of Grimsby	30,000
To improve the harbour of Whitby	9,000
Do. harbour of Port Dover	3,000
Do. harbour of Port Burwell (Stanley)	3,000
Do. harbour at mouth of Credit River	1,500
Do. harbour at Louth, Niagara District	1,000
Toll-bridge, Chatham	1,500*

In the lower province, besides the La Chine Canal, some important works have been constructed. First, we may mention the port of Montreal, which is really one of the finest of the kind in the world. A quay, as already noticed, extends in the form of a crescent along the whole line of the city, leaving space for wharfage, for a road, and for ascents to an upper road; the whole is bounded by a long wall, above which is the street, with the merchants' houses and warehouses. This upper wall acts as a defence against the ice, which, before its construction, used to do much damage on the breaking up of the winter.

Communication with the United States has lately been facilitated by means of a short railroad from La Prairie on the south side of the St Lawrence, above Montreal, and St John on Lake Champlain, formed at a cost of £34,800. The old road, eighteen miles in length, at particular seasons of the year, was perhaps the worst in the world. The writer of these remarks has been seven hours in accomplishing the journey, which now occupies only from fifty to sixty minutes. The whole distance to New York, five or six years ago, required five days; some years further back ten days were necessary; it will shortly be done in less than thirty hours.

* Upper Canada Gazette, March 1837.

The communication between Lake Champlain and the St Lawrence is also facilitated by the Chambly Canal, which opens the navigation down the Richelieu river to Sorel, forty-five miles below Montreal. This canal, with the improvement of the river connected with it, has cost nearly £90,000.

During the winter, the hard snow forms a kind of natural railroad, marked out by the sleighs or vehicles of various kinds on runners instead of wheels. It is by this mode that produce is carried from the interior to the shipping-places on the border of some navigable stream, whence it is conveyed to market as soon as the mild season returns.

We shall now close this chapter with a few observations referring to a change which perhaps takes place in every settlement in its progress towards maturity.

In the early periods of most of our colonies, commerce properly so called remains in the hands of the mother-country, or is supported by capital drawn from thence. In such circumstances the settlers confine themselves to the retail trade; and it is not until they have advanced in wealth and intelligence, that they aspire to the character of merchants. Ten years ago, the former state of things prevailed in Canada; of late, however, a great alteration has taken place, and at this moment some of the most extensive houses in Montreal consist of native partners, who are not inferior to those of the British establishments either in respect of funds or of professional knowledge.

The beneficial effects of this change may be easily conceived. As long as the wholesale trade remained in the hands of English merchants, the accumulated profits of years were not unfrequently withdrawn from the colony by their return home. When, on the other hand, a native retires from the pursuits of trade, his capital forces him to seek some mode of investment which will secure an income without the inconvenience of personal superintendence,—hence the banking institution, the insurance company, the railroad, and the canal. The

People's Bank, already mentioned, has been established entirely by the savings of colonial industry.

As the habits of the Canadians are much less expensive than those of the British, the rate of accumulation will become much more rapid than it has ever yet been. Their frugal manner of life cannot but give great stability to trade, improve the reputation of the mercantile body generally, and establish in the minds of our merchants and manufacturers that high degree of confidence which is the mainspring of commercial intercourse.

In conclusion, it may not be uninteresting to state, that the total importations into all the North American colonies amount to about £5,000,000 currency. Of this not more than £4,000,000 currency are paid for by exports, the remaining £1,000,000 may consequently be said to be the value of British capital annually invested in Canada, in the manner pointed out in a former page.

CHAPTER II.

Social State of Canada.

Different Classes of People—French Habitans—Their Tenures—Outward Appearance—Mode of living—Religious and moral Character—Manners in Upper Canada—Mode of living—Native Indians—Their Number—Catholic Indians—Hurons of Loretto—Different Tribes—Effects of Protestant Conversion—Government Expenditure on them—Present Dress and Mode of living—Religious Instruction in Lower and Upper Canada—Education.

THE inhabitants of Canada are divided into three classes, among which no complete amalgamation has yet been formed. These are the original French colonists, commonly called *habitans;* the British settlers; and the Indian tribes.

The *habitans*, at the time of the conquest, formed almost the whole of the European population. They had occupied the best lands along the banks of the St Lawrence, between Quebec and Montreal; a considerable extent of those upon the Richelieu; and a small space on the Chaudière, the Yamaska, the St Maurice, and other tributaries of the great river, as well as a detached settlement on the fertile shores of the Detroit. These tracts had been granted to persons of distinction and to favourites, usually in large blocks, which, as already stated, they held under the title of seigneurs. But it accorded not with their habits to clear and cultivate for themselves grounds covered with an unbroken forest; nor would the task be undertaken by farmers on the terms of an ordinary lease. The proprietors were therefore obliged to make them over, in small lots, under the feudal title of fiefs, to hard-working men, who, on re-

ceiving this permanent interest, were willing to encounter the toil. The annual payment or quit-rent is in general exceedingly small, amounting on some properties only to 10s. a-year, with a bushel of wheat and two fowls. The seigneur has, besides, certain feudal claims; a tithe on fish, mill-dues, and, more especially, payments on sale or transference, which in some cases amount to a fifth of the purchase-money.*

The occupants of these fiefs or farms, under the burdens now specified, are virtual proprietors of the soil, which they cultivate with their own hands, aided by their families. They are described as a particularly contented, industrious, and amiable race of people; and the lots, though much subdivided in the course of succession, are still sufficient to maintain them in simple plenty. They till their lands with diligence, though without skill, having scarcely adopted any of the modern improvements. Their study is to produce from the farm every thing they need; not only the whole of their food, but their candles, soap, and even sugar. From flax of their own raising, too, and the wool of their own sheep, they are enabled to manufacture almost every article of clothing. Their houses, though generally built of wood and only one story high, are whitewashed, and tolerably commodious. A partition in the middle separates the kitchen from the principal apartment, at one end of which are the bedrooms. There is a garden which, though in a somewhat rude and straggling state, and cultivated by the females only, yields a comfortable supply of the more common fruits and vegetables.

The personal appearance of the *habitans* is peculiar. They are tall, thin, and, from exposure to the climate, almost as dark as the Indians. They have thin lips and often aquiline noses, with small, dark, and lively eyes. Many of the girls are pretty oval-faced brunettes, with fine eyes, good teeth, and glossy locks. The dress is nearly after the old fashion of the French peasantry.

* Bouchette, vol. i. pp. 376, 377. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 426.

Dance of Habitans.

The men wear the *capot*, a large gray coat or surtout, covering nearly the whole body, and tied with a girdle of brilliant colours. On the legs they have mocassins, and on the head a straw hat in summer, and a red bonnet in winter. The hair is still tied in a long queue behind. The women wear short jackets or bedgowns (mantelets), with petticoats distinct, and sometimes of a different colour, and caps instead of bonnets; a mode of dress formerly common in Scotland, and not yet wholly disused. They have long waists, and sometimes the hair tied behind in a large club. At church, or other occasions of full dress, they adopt the English fashion, but display a much greater variety of showy colours. Hair-powder is sometimes worn, and beet-root employed as rouge; but both in their dress and houses, they are perfectly clean.

The *habitans* are frugal and moderate in their ordinary diet, which mostly consists of different kinds of soup. They have, however, their *jours gras*, or great feast-days, particularly before and after Lent, when large companies assemble, and the board is spread with every delicacy which their larder can afford. The table groans beneath immense turkey pies, huge joints of beef, mutton, and pork, followed by a profusion of fruit-puddings. Extraordinary justice is said to be done to these viands, as well as to the rum which follows; but the younger members of the company are soon roused by the sound of the violin; and the dancing, of which they are passionately fond, engages them till a late hour. Weddings, above all, are celebrated by a mighty concourse of friends and acquaintances. Twenty or thirty of the country carriages bring in parties to witness the ceremony, which is followed by feasts and dances, not unfrequently prolonged for several days. The young people, however, have a somewhat rude method of expressing their opinion of an unequal union, especially if arising from the relative age of the parties. They assemble at night in large bodies, sounding various discordant instruments, horns, drums, bells, kettles, ac-

companied by loud shouts; and a contribution to the church or some charitable purpose is indispensable to obtain a respite from this jocular persecution. The short summer is necessarily spent in almost unremitting labour; but when ice and snow have covered the ground, the gay season begins, and in their carioles or little chaises on steel runners, which pass swiftly over the frozen surface, they visit their neighbours, and spend much time in social intercourse.*

The Canadian French, like their forefathers, profess the Roman Catholic religion with much zeal, and in a manner which occasionally approaches superstition. The roads are marked by crosses erected at the side; their houses are filled with little pictures of the Madonna and child, waxen images of saints, and of the crucifixion; and there is a profuse expenditure of holy water and candles. They reluctantly establish their dwelling beyond hearing of the church bells, and on Sundays the attendance is crowded. They have, however, those inadequate notions as to the sanctity of that day, which are general in Catholic countries. When worship is over, the remainder is devoted, without reserve, to amusement. "Sunday," it is said, "is to them their day of gayety; there is then an assemblage of friends and relations; the parish-church collects together all whom they know, with whom they have relations of business or pleasure; the young and old, men and women, clad in their best garments, riding their best horses, driving in their gayest *calèches*, meet there for purposes of business, love, and pleasure. The young *habitant*, decked out in his most splendid finery, makes his court to the maiden whom he has singled out as the object of his affections; the maiden, exhibiting in her adornment every colour of the rainbow, there hopes to meet her chevalier; the bold rider descants upon and gives evidence of the merits of his unrivalled pacer; and in win-

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 405-409. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 565-569, 594.

ter the powers of the various horses are tried in sleigh or cariole racing; in short, Sunday is the grand fête." Even the violin and the dance in the evening are not considered unsuitable. Notwithstanding these customs, the religious spirit of the Canadians appears sincere, and is attended with great benefits. Their general conduct is inoffensive and praiseworthy. Crimes of an atrocious description, as murder and violent assaults upon the person, scarcely ever occur. Property is perfectly safe, both from the thief and the robber; the doors of the houses stand open, and all sorts of goods are exposed without any precaution. They scarcely ever engage in those furious personal conflicts which, among the Americans of English descent, are often carried on with such violence; they know neither duelling, boxing, nor gouging. On the contrary, they mutually treat each other with all the ceremonious politeness of the French school. One of the first things taught to a child is to speak decorously, to bow or curtsey to its elders or to strangers. This politeness is not accompanied with any degree of insincerity or servility, above which last they are completely raised by their independent situation. They are said to be generous in relieving those in distress, liberal and courteous to all who have any claim on their hospitality. The custom of parents and children living together, often to the third generation, in the same house, marks a mild and friendly temper. The only form under which hostile passions are vented is that of litigation, to which they are immoderately addicted, being favoured by the comparative cheapness of law. M. Bouchette defends this as securing them from violent and turbulent modes of terminating their differences.

The *habitans* are not a stirring, enterprising, or improving race. They tread in the steps of their forefathers, following the same routine, and with difficulty adopting the most obvious improvements of modern husbandry. Although extensive tracts lie in their immediate neighbourhood unoccupied, they resign them to the English and Americans, and have scarcely at all extended the

range of their original settlement. Even their amiable qualities tend to retain them in this stationary condition; to which we may add their social disposition, their attachment to their kindred, their church, and the rites of their religion. They feel as if in leaving these things they would leave all. Their range of information has hitherto been very limited; and their priests, it has been alleged, by no means favour the diffusion among them even of the first elements of education; so that the majority of the adults cannot even read or write. But the legislature have lately made great exertions to improve them in this respect, and it is hoped that the rising generation will be more enlightened.*

The society in Upper Canada, with the exception of the small French settlement at Detroit, presents a very different aspect. A great majority of the inhabitants consist of emigrants recently arrived from Ireland, Scotland, and England, who have not yet made much change in their original ideas and habits. Those established at successive periods during the previous half century, are not represented by Mr Howison, Mr Talbot, and other writers, under a very favourable light. The tone, especially in the western districts, appears to have been in a great measure given by such Americans as came, not from the civilized portions of the Union, but from the back wood tracts, breathing rather the spirit of Kentucky than of New England. Disbanded soldiers and sailors were not well calculated to improve the breed; and even the voluntary emigrants were not always composed of the respectable classes who, under the pressure of the times, have lately embraced this resource. The removal of the ordinary restraints of society, and the absence of religious ordinances and ministration, concurred in giving to them a reckless and unprincipled character. Intoxication, encouraged by the cheapness of spirits, is indulged to a lamentable degree, and is often productive of general ill conduct and ruin. Little

* Bouchette, vol. i. p. 404-413. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 458, 561-567.

regard is paid to the Sabbath, and other sacred institutions; and the ear of the stranger is wounded, not only by abusive language, but by swearing to an odious and disgusting degree. Pugilistic contests are carried on with a violence rivalling those of Kentucky, and have not always been unaccompanied by the savage practice of gouging. Mr Talbot, though he admits that he met with many respectable females, charges a large proportion of the sex with a disregard and even an insensibility to their first duties. Although a *spry* lass, as she is termed, is sure of repeated offers, and is never long of being united in the bonds of matrimony, she may frequently before that event have given birth to one or two children. Our author was in company with a lady who volunteered to the company the information, that "her Betty" had been two years old at her marriage. The correcter feelings, on this subject, of females from the old country are contemned as ridiculous. Nay, where so little delicacy prevails, and the children are so valuable a possession, the bringing two or three into the world in this irregular manner, instead of being a bar to marriage, proves, it is said, an additional attraction, by making the young lady a species of heiress. After marriage, she makes an active and industrious wife, but expects from her husband much deference, and even that he should wink at occasional frailties. These faults are described by Mr Gourlay as rapidly disappearing, though Mr Talbot, and even Mr Shirreff, found them still too prevalent; but the increased means of instruction, and the example of respectable immigrants, will, it may be hoped, gradually effect a thorough reform.

No people in the world live better than the inhabitants of Upper Canada. The abundance of produce, and the low price at which it can be sold, naturally inclines them to take the full use of it. Three copious meals, often of twelve or fourteen dishes each, are daily served up, called breakfast, dinner, and supper, but consisting generally of the same component parts; among which are specially enumerated, green tea, fried pork, honeycomb,

salted salmon, pound cake, pickled cucumbers, stewed chickens, apple-tarts, maple-molasses, pease-pudding, gingerbread, and sour crout. They are not very social in their daily habits, to which indeed the almost impassable state of the roads opposes great obstacles; but they are fond of large parties, and in a favourable season five or six families often unite, and, without any notice, drive to visit another at the distance of ten or twelve miles. Such an arrival would not always be very opportune in an English household; but "in this land of plenty," the flour-barrel, the pork-tub, and the fowl-house, afford at all times materials for meeting such an emergency; and the board is soon spread with a plentiful meal. The dance is an amusement of which they are passionately fond. No inn is considered worthy of the name, unless it be provided with a spacious ball-room, which is called into requisition as often as convenience will permit. Intellectual recreations have not hitherto attracted all the attention which they merit. Mr Talbot, during a residence of five years, never saw above two individuals with books in their hands; and in one case it was a medical treatise, consulted for health. The sources of improvement already enumerated, however, have already made a great impression, and will, we doubt not, erelong wipe off this reproach from the Canadian people.*

There remains yet undescribed a small but interesting portion, the remnant of the Indian nations. It has appeared mysterious how tribes once so powerful, without war or bloodshed, should have silently disappeared, and only a handful survive. The occupation of their hunting-grounds by European settlers, the introduction of destructive diseases, particularly small-pox, and the free use of intoxicating liquors, have no doubt materially thinned their numbers. Our researches, however, have led us to suspect, that the diminution has not been nearly so

* Talbot, pp. 21, 35-43, 59, 66, 118. Gourlay, vol. ii. p. 252. Shirreff, p. 389.

great as is supposed; in other words, that the original numbers were much exaggerated. We have had occasion to observe, that the Iroquois, the most powerful people in America, and occupying a territory extending several hundred miles in every direction, were not estimated by the French to include more than 3000 warriors. Yet they enjoyed a better climate, and were not so entirely ignorant of cultivation as the tribes northward of the St Lawrence.

The Indians, under British protection, are dispersed in small villages and settlements in different parts of Upper and Lower Canada. The charge made by Mr M'Gregor* that they have not been kindly treated by our government, seems scarcely well founded; for not only do they remain peaceably under her sway, but they have repeatedly taken up arms in her cause against the "Big Knives," as they term the Americans. In consideration of their services, and in compensation for the encroachments made on their domain, each individual, on repairing to a fixed station, receives a certain amount of goods as an annual present; and this grant affords the means of estimating the number residing within the provinces. In Lower Canada, in 1828, it amounted to 2922, exclusive of about 450 Micmacs, or wandering tribes, from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The number in Upper Canada to whom, about the same time, donations were made, was 12,919;† making in the two provinces 15,841. The estimate thus obtained, however, is not quite so accurate as could be wished. Several thousands came from beyond the western frontier, a distance in some cases of four or five hundred miles, and even from the territory of the United States; but in consequence of the signal services rendered by them during the last war, pledges had been given, which Britain must now fulfil. On the other hand, in the immense forest territory which the hand of cultivation has not

* Vol. ii. p 573.

† Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August 1834, p. 25-35.

yet approached, there are doubtless very considerable numbers who retain their wild independence, and hold no relations whatever with Europeans. We may notice, in particular, the vast tracts to the east and north of Quebec, whence no mention is made of any resort to the stations of distribution.

The Indians of Lower Canada have been converted to the Catholic religion, and their spiritual concerns are superintended by five missionaries, who receive salaries of from £40 to £70 per annum. They appear much attached to these instructors, and show a deep sense of their religious duties; yet they have admitted scarcely any change in their original habits, or made any progress in industry. Their husbandry, as formerly, is on a small scale, of the rudest description, and carried on entirely by women and old men. "The Indian tribes," said the late Lord Dalhousie, "continue to be warlike in their ideas and recollections. Insignificant as are some of the tribes now in Lower Canada, civilized and accustomed to social life, there is not one of them that does not boast of the warlike days of their chiefs and warriors; even now, the word warrior is assumed by every young man; he is trained up to it, and has a higher idea of the approbation of his chief, or the consideration of white men, in that character of an active hunter or warrior, than he has of any other object or use of his existence." The missionaries, though they execute their spiritual functions with zeal and diligence, not only take no pains to instruct them in reading or writing, but effectually oppose any efforts for that purpose, at least when made by Protestant teachers. We even suspect that they indulge rather than check the warlike spirit of their flocks; since it appears, that on the annual religious festival called the grand fête de Dieu, the Indians are in the habit of marching to church in military order, headed by their chiefs, bearing arms, and amid the music of drums and fifes.*

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August 1834, pp. 6-9, 96, 97.

A few miles northward from Quebec is the Huron settlement of Loretto, consisting of sixty-seven men, sixty-five women, and forty-seven children. This poor remnant of a race once so powerful, holding only forty acres of land, derive a precarious subsistence from hunting, fishing, and some trifling articles made by their females. They recently preferred a claim to the fief of Sillery, a fine tract extending a league along the St Lawrence, near Quebec, in virtue of a grant made to their ancestors in 1651. The case being brought before the courts, it was argued by the crown lawyers that the grant had been made to the Jesuits in general terms, for the purpose "of assembling the wandering nations of New France, and instructing them in the Christian religion;" that, in 1699, these missionaries, representing that the Indians had quitted the spot on account of the soil being exhausted, requested and obtained a grant of it for themselves; and that it remained in their possession till the extinction of their order in 1800, when it devolved on the British government. On these grounds the judges decided against the Hurons. We cannot help referring, however, to certain facts in our historical narrative, founded on authorities which we incline to believe were unknown to either party in this contest. It there appears that the grant immediately followed the destruction of the Huron nation by the Iroquois, when the Jesuits, as the only means of saving the remnant of the tribe, removed them to Quebec. The date and the name of the principal settlement seem to show, that however general the terms may have been, the grant was made virtually for the benefit of these unfortunate fugitives, and to the Jesuits only as their trustees. If this be admitted, we know not how far their quitting it at one time for another spot, without any formal relinquishment, could be considered as vacating their title. On the loss of their cause, they sent two deputies to London, who very earnestly solicited an interview with their great father. Sir George Murray evaded this demand, but received them kindly, and

though he could not re-open a legal decision, offered them grants of crown lands in other quarters; but they replied, that an arrangement which would separate them, and require a complete change in their mode of life, could not be felt by them as any real advantage.

In the vicinity of Three Rivers are 82 Algonquins, and near St Francis and Beçancour, on the opposite side, 359 Abenaquis. These tribes inhabit rude villages, composed of very poor bark huts, though somewhat better than the ordinary wigwams. They once possessed a considerable extent of land, the greater part of which has been wrested from them under various pretences by designing individuals; and to prevent such frauds, it is proposed that no alienation of property by these untaught tribes shall be held valid until it has been sanctioned by government. Farther down the river, are three settlements of Iroquois, one at Sault St Louis and Caughnawaga, amounting to 967; another at St Regis of 348; and a third of 282 at the Lake of the Two Mountains. This tribe, once powerful and even intelligent, are now indolent, wretched, and despised by their own countrymen. Those of Sault St Louis possess some land, though, from mismanagement, it produces little; and a late claim for an addition, founded on minute boundary questions, was fruitless, though they also sent two deputies to London to enforce it. At the Lake of the Two Mountains are likewise 355 Algonquins and 250 Nipissings. These have no land to cultivate, but, by their activity in hunting and supplying Europeans with furs, they have placed themselves in a more comfortable condition than any other Indians in Lower Canada. They complain much, however, of the extended colonization on the Ottawa, by which their hunting grounds are greatly narrowed.*

In Upper Canada, along the St Lawrence and Lake Ontario, the Mississaguas are the leading tribe. Those

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August 1834, pp. 23, 25, 34, 66, 84.

of Kingston and Gananoqui, only 82 in number, are described as worthless and depraved; but such as dwell on the Bay of Quinté and Rice Lake, amounting respectively to 143 and 317, have been converted to Christianity, and are much improved. On the Bay are also 319 Mohawks, many of whom have applied themselves to agriculture, and even adopted in some degree the European dress, though mixed in a grotesque manner with their native attire. On the river Credit, which falls into the western part of Ontario, are 180 of the same nation, who have been greatly civilized by their conversion. Around Lake Simcoe and in its vicinity, about 550 Chippewas reside, under their chief, Yellowhead. These also have expressed a strong desire for instruction and the knowledge of religion, but have not yet experienced those benefits in an equal degree. The banks of the Grand River, which falls into Lake Erie, to the extent of six miles on each side, was, by a proclamation of General Haldimand, set apart for the Mohawks and Six Nations, who occupy it to the number of about 2000. Some part of these lands has been sold with the consent of government, and the proceeds lodged in the British funds, yielding an annual revenue of £1500, which is distributed among them in goods. They still hold 260,000 acres of an excellent soil, over which they have spread themselves in small villages, and many of them attempt the simpler modes of farming. Farther west are the Munseys, on the Thames, 445 in number, and 309 Hurons, connected with the French settlement on the Detroit, and converts to the Catholic form of worship.*

With the last exception, all the tribes in Upper Canada, till within these few years, remained in their primitive state of rudeness and ignorance. They are now, however, willing converts to the Christian faith, receiving instruction in reading and writing: their morals are

* Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 14th August 1834, p. 27-30.

greatly improved, and, in short, the way is paved for their adopting generally the habits of civilized life. This good work has been almost entirely accomplished by teachers from the United States, belonging to the "Canada Conference Missionary Society," auxiliary to that of the Methodist Church of New York. The Indians have always shown themselves desirous to be instructed. In 1827, the tribes when receiving presents at the remote station of Drummond Island, intimated to the agent that there was at Michillimakinac a school, or place where the natives were taught to live as the whites do, "to mark their thoughts on paper, and to think the news from books (read and write)." It was in their power to send their children thither "to get sense;" but not being partial to the Big Knives, and hearing that their great father at York was teaching their brethren to "cut up the ground and be beloved of the Great Spirit," they would rather be instructed by him. In the same year, the Chippeways at Gwillimbury, through their chief Yellowhead, delivered successive strings of wampum, importing that they wished to be settled together, to pursue agriculture, and "to worship that God which is known to the whites in the good book."

The work of conversion and civilisation was already proceeding, through the exertions of the New York missionaries. Their first success was on the river Credit, in the Home District, where they were greatly aided by Mr Peter Jones, alias Kakkewaquonaby, the son of a Welsh father by an Indian mother, and thoroughly acquainted with their customs and language. They formed themselves into a village, where Sir Peregrine Maitland built for them twenty houses; they added fifteen for themselves, with a mill; and the Methodist Society aided them in erecting a chapel, schoolhouse, and workshop. They now renounced the "fire-waters" (spirits), the effects of which had been so pernicious; and without giving up hunting, combined with it the culture of the ground and the rearing of cattle. According to the report of the Rev. Mr Magrath, they had, in

March 1828, brought thirty-five acres into cultivation, and possessed nine yoke of oxen, twelve cows, and six horses. The adults were taught to get by heart the most essential doctrines of religion; but for the children of both sexes schools were established, attended by thirty-five boys and thirty-six girls. The Mississaguas near Belleville soon followed the example of their brethren, and, with the aid of the society, formed a village on Grape Island, in the Bay of Quinté. Finding this position too limited, they applied for more land, and were allowed to select the requisite number of vacant lots in the Midland District. This salutary process was soon afterwards extended to the Mississaguas on the borders of Rice Lake, and of Mud Lake, northward of Cobourg. They occupied, by right, the islands on the former, and, on the petition of their teachers, were allowed besides 1200 acres of waste land. Improvement was next extended to the Chippeways, near Lake Simcoe. They were entitled to three islands, but Sir John Colborne thought it more for their benefit that they should be located on its north-western shore, and on the road to Lake Huron. In these objects about £3000 were spent, chiefly saved out of the annual presents. Another establishment has been formed at Munseytown, on the river Thames, and it appears that much has been done among the Six Nations, particularly the Mohawks, on the Grand River. In short, there seems no room to doubt, that the whole of this savage race will soon be brought within the pale of Christianity and civilisation.

Vehement objections have been taken against the religious body by whom this change has been effected. They are accused of propagating the political creed of their own country, accompanied with sentiments of hostility to the established church. It does not appear, however, that any disloyal or turbulent proceedings have resulted; and when they are doing so much good, it would certainly be very inexpedient to obstruct their operations, until some efficient substitute shall be found. Sir John Colborne expressly says, that the established

clergy have not effected any Indian conversions; and the worthy Bishop of Quebec candidly observes, that, whoever were the instruments, the effect must be a source of satisfaction; and that the hand of God seems to be visible in it. The society allow £40 or £50 a-year to their missionaries, and maintain ten schools, attended by 251 pupils.

The Indians, as already observed, have certain fixed stations to which they resort for the purpose of receiving their annual presents. These are, in Lower Canada, Quebec, to which, in 1827, there came 652; St Francis, 541; Caughnawaga, 967; Lake of Two Mountains, 887; and St Regis, 348. In Upper Canada, they are, Kingston, 859; York, 781; Fort-George (Niagara), 1857; Amherstburg, 5906; and Drummond Island, 3516. The expense became very large during the war, when their services were so valuable. Between 1813 and 1816 it averaged £150,000 a-year. Since that time it has been reduced to about £16,000; which, with £4400 for management, raises the Indian department to £20,400 a-year. This, in Upper Canada, is estimated at 18s. 9d. to each individual, for which slender remuneration some travel 500 miles. References have been made from the Colonial Office, to ascertain whether this sum might not be still further reduced, and paid in money, by which the estimates could be formed with greater precision. To the first point, it has been replied by the governors, that the donation is one to which we are bound by the faith of treaties, made in return for important services; and its discontinuance would excite the deepest indignation, and provoke an hostility which might be attended with disastrous consequences. Probably, like all rude nations, the Indians, instead of viewing these gifts as in any degree humiliating, pride themselves upon them as testimonies of respect, perhaps even as a species of tribute. As to the payment in money, it was deprecated in the strongest terms by almost all the chiefs and those interested in their welfare; because the immediate consequence would be

its conversion into spirits, thereby causing a serious injury instead of a benefit. The principal articles presented to them in 1832, were, 35,700 yards of different kinds of cloth, the prime cost varying from 1s. 1d. to 3s. 4d.; 4200 yards of linen; 33,800 yards of cotton and calico, 7d. to 1s. 7d.; 84,500 yards gartering, of scarlet, green, and fancy colours, $\frac{3}{4}$d. per yard; 20,000 yards blanketing, 1s. 11d. to 5s. 9d.; 9260 pairs of combs; 6700 shoemakers' awls; 8740 butchers' knives; 870 kettles; 18,160 sewing needles; 240 guns, 12s. 9d. to 30s.; 16,200 lbs. of lead ball; 46,300 lbs. shot; 20,000 flints; 3450 lbs. carrot tobacco, £17, 10s. per cwt.

Since the diffusion of civilisation, many of the Indians have consented, and even desired, to exchange these presents for houses, implements of agriculture, and other useful objects. A considerable number have even begun to wish for money, which happily they no longer abuse as formerly, but rather find the most convenient instrument in procuring whatever they may happen to want. Asance, a chief, said, that at York "he found it convenient when hungry to be able to put his hand into his pocket, and find something jingling there for which he could get bread." It may be observed that the Indians in Upper Canada are entitled to the annual pay of £5107 cur. (£4426 sterling), for lands ceded by them to government, who give the value in goods. As the crown obtained in exchange nearly 5,000,000 of acres of fertile land, we do think that this slender annuity ought not to exhaust the kindness of the British ministry towards this unfortunate race. They receive also £1267 sterling for property sold to private individuals, the greater part of which is lodged in the funds. This sum is paid in money to the chiefs.*

The Indians, as formerly observed, retain in general their original fashion of dress; but instead of composing it entirely of the skins of wild animals, they have

* Ibid. pp. 16, 17, 42, 135-137, 127-132, 136, 54, 55. Martin p. 218.

Domiciliated Indians.

adopted, as more commodious, materials of English manufacture. For the outer covering, or great coat, a blanket is decidedly preferred; the shirt beneath is chiefly of calico or printed cotton; the leggings and pouches of common cloths. The gartering, of gaudy colours, serves for binding and ornamental borders. The mocassins only, an article so extremely suited to their habits, cannot be composed of any better material than their own deer-skin. When, however, any particular piece of finery strikes their fancy, they eagerly seek to procure it, and combine it, often fantastically, with their old habiliments. The vicinity of Europeans, where it does not induce the destructive habit of intoxication, affords them various means for bettering their condition. A ready sale for venison, wild ducks and other feathered game, and for the fish which they spear, is found among settlers who have themselves little leisure for angling or the chase. The skins and furs also of the animals caught by them are readily bought by the merchants. The women make baskets, trays, and other utensils, of birch bark, and sometimes of the inner rind of the basswood and white ash; which, when ornamented with porcupine quills, dyed in beautiful colours, form elegant

articles of furniture. Their mocassins, similarly adorned, are often purchased by Europeans for winter use. They cannot however be depended upon for making or procuring any article to order. They produce and bring their commodities to market when it suits their own convenience; and they are disposed to drive a pretty hard bargain, especially the females, on whom that task usually devolves. The converted Indians are said to display a simple, fervent, and sincere devotion. They pay a particular regard to the sanctity of the Sabbath; and while singing hymns on the evening of that day, their rich soft voices, rising on the still air, are extremely sweet. This principle of piety, having produced the valuable fruit of inducing them to renounce the ruinous habit of intoxication, has made a most happy change in their condition; and since the evils incident to the savage have thus been removed, perhaps the admirer of the picturesque in human life may not feel impatient for that thorough amalgamation with Europeans, which some of their friends ardently desire. They may be willing that some trace should still survive of the peculiar costume, aspect, and occupations of this remarkable aboriginal race.*

The means of religious instruction in Lower Canada have long existed on a liberal scale. The great majority of the inhabitants, as formerly observed, are French Roman Catholics. They support their clergy by a contribution of a twenty-sixth part of the produce of their lands, which does not, however, as has been sometimes represented, form a compulsory assessment, since Protestant converts may discontinue payment. This affords to upwards of 200 *vicaires* and *curés* an average income of £300 per annum, which, in Canada, is very liberal. They are described as respectable in character and attainments, very attentive to their parishioners, and extremely beloved by them. They have been accused as hostile to the diffusion of knowledge; yet no mention

* Weld, p. 379-382. Backwoods, p. 162-170.

is made of any opposition made by them to the late remarkable spread of elementary schools. The bishop, who has under him two coadjutors and four vicars-general, receives from government a stipend of £1000 a-year. There are also monastic establishments, containing upwards of 300 monks and nuns. The English Church has assigned for its support a seventh of all the lands unoccupied by the *habitans*, and formed into townships. This proportion appears large, and has even been complained of as such, yet it has not hitherto produced any great revenue. The clergy of this church are at present forty in number, at the head of whom is the Bishop of Quebec, with a stipend of £1000 a-year. There are fourteen Presbyterian ministers, connected with the Church of Scotland, partly paid by government; and also twelve Methodists of the Wesleyan persuasion.

Upper Canada, as already hinted, was long miserably destitute of the means of religious instruction. In 1800, according to Mr Talbot, there were only three clergymen in the country; in 1819 they had increased to ten; and in 1824 were still only sixteen. Since that time effective measures have been taken to supply this great deficiency. There are now forty-three clergymen belonging to the English established church; and two archdeacons, at Toronto and Kingston, subject to the Bishop of Quebec, have each £300 a-year. The remainder of the clergy received, in 1835, an income of £6784, 11s. 8d., of which £5484, 18s. was defrayed from the proceeds of the ecclesiastical reserves, which, as in Lower Canada, consist of one-seventh of the uncultivated lands; the rest was paid out of the crown revenue. The Catholics have twenty-four priests, of whom the bishop, bearing the title of Regiopolis, has £500; the rest receive £1000 annually divided among them, out of the public purse. From the same fund were paid, in 1835, to the ministers of the Church of Scotland, £1586; to those of the Presbyterian Synod of Upper Canada, £700; £171 was granted to the fund for building Catholic churches; £550 was

given for the same purpose to the Scottish Church; and £550 to the Wesleyan Methodists. From this fund was also allowed £2344, 11s. 8d. for missionaries of the Church of England. There are said to be also twenty-eight Methodist and forty or fifty Baptist churches, which appear to be supported by the congregations.

The means even of the most common education were long extremely deficient in Canada. This want was equally felt in the lower province, where the Catholic clergy, though diligent in their religious ministrations, either opposed or did nothing to forward elementary instruction. They particularly interfered to prevent attendance on the schools organized in 1817 by what was termed the Royal Institution, as being chiefly under the management of Church of England clergymen. In 1829, however, the legislature voted for this object £6439, which was gradually increased to upwards of £20,000. In that year the number of scholars was 14,753, of whom only about a third paid fees. In 1835, the number of free scholars had risen to 72,498, of those paying to 25,160; showing thus a wonderful increase both in the gross number and in the proportion of those who defrayed their own charges. In 1836, however, the vote of the House of Assembly for this patriotic purpose was negatived by the Legislative Council; a step which seems not unworthy of the severe animadversions made on it by the popular leaders. The Council stated that their motive was to induce the people to contribute more towards the education of their families. This was admitted to be desirable as an ultimate object; but it could not justify the abrupt withdrawal of the means by which nearly 40,000 children were educated, without allowing time or even legal authority to substitute any other.

In Upper Canada also, the government is making great exertions to remove that cloud of ignorance in which the country was once involved. A college at Toronto is supported on a liberal footing. There are

also grammar schools in every district, to the teachers of which £100 yearly is allowed by the legislature. The scholars attending them amount in all to about 350. The sum of £7380 also was granted in 1835 for the support of common schools, estimated to amount to several hundreds, and to educate about 20,000 children. In the same year the legislature voted £180 and £90 to the Mechanics' Institutes at Toronto and Kingston.

CHAPTER III.

Political State of Canada.

Government under the French—British Arrangements—Constitution granted to the Canadas—Division into Upper and Lower—Revenue—Military Force—Justice—Reflections on the proposed new Constitution—Enmity of Races—Best Modes of appeasing it—Executive Government—Its Collision with the Assembly—Origin of the late Disturbances—Remedies suggested—Views of Sir Francis Head—Distinction between Foreign and Internal Affairs—Executive Council—Representative Assembly—Its Defects—Best Mode of raising its Character—Legislative Council—Proposed Union of the Provinces—Its Advantages—Dangers to be guarded against—Municipal Institutions.

THE political constitution of Canada has undergone various changes. Under French dominion, after the early companies were broken up, the sovereign assumed a jurisdiction almost quite absolute, not being checked, as at home, by the influence of the nobility or the parliaments. The necessity of delegation, however, and fear lest the governors should aim at independence, induced the cabinet to divide the administration among several heads; a system which rendered it weak rather than free, producing, as we have seen, frequent and violent collision among its members. These jealous feelings, moreover, caused the royal council to lend a ready ear to complaints from every class. The clergy, especially the monastic and missionary orders, who had taken a large share in the first settlement and were richly endowed, enjoyed great influence both in the colony and with the court.

In 1759, Canada was conquered by the arms of Britain,

and by the treaty which followed was permanently annexed to her empire. It is generally admitted, that no people, completely subdued, were ever more liberally treated than the French colonists in that country. Not only was their property preserved inviolate, but they were also invested with all the rights of citizens, and rendered admissible to every office on the same footing as British subjects. The Catholic religion did not merely enjoy full toleration, but the large property with which it had been invested was preserved to it entire. As a farther boon, the law of England, civil and criminal, including the trial by jury, was introduced. The improved security afforded by the latter code to person and life was duly appreciated; but in regard to property and civil jurisdiction, the *coutume de Paris*, with the ordinances of the French kings, though forming a complicated, perplexed, and inconvenient system, had been so interwoven with all the habits of the settlers, that they could not be persuaded to prefer one decidedly better. The civil law, indeed, had scarcely a fair trial, being administered by somewhat unlearned judges, partly naval and military officers, partly citizens not bred to the profession. In the prospect of a contest with the United Colonies, it became necessary to conciliate the Canadians, and a statute (14th Geo. III. cap. 83) was passed, called the "Quebec Act," founded upon a report of the crown lawyers, by which the French system was revived in the province, with the exception of the criminal branch, which continued to be similar to that of England.

Although the rights of person and property had thus been from the first secured, the people had not yet been admitted to any share of political privilege. The administration, civil and military, was exercised by one individual, uniting the functions of governor and commander-in-chief; and though the Quebec Act provided that there should be a legislative council of at least twenty-three members, the nomination rested entirely with the sovereign. The natives, long unaccustomed to any other species of rule, for some time felt no dissatisfaction; but at a later period, when they had opportunities of observ-

ing the operation of a more liberal system in England and the United States, a desire for improvement arose, and in 1784 a petition was presented for the establishment of a representative constitution. The British settlers took the lead, but many of the French joined them. Their request was not granted till 1791, when Mr Pitt proposed and carried in Parliament a scheme of government resembling that of the mother-country.

By this act the upper province, which had long been rising in importance, was separated from the lower, and a distinct constitution appointed for each. The representative body in the latter consists of eighty-eight members, four from each of the cities of Quebec and Montreal, two from Three Rivers, one from William-Henry or Sorel, and a varying number, but most commonly two, from each of the counties. The qualification of electors in the country arises from the possession of landed property amounting to 40s. a-year; in the towns, from owning a dwelling-house of £5 a-year, or renting one of £10; and no religious disability exists. The members hold their seats during four years, and there must be an annual session, which usually continues through the months of January, February, and March. The governor has the same power in convoking, proroguing, or dissolving them, that the king has in England. For the last three sessions, the members have been allowed ten shillings a-day while sitting, and four shillings a-league for travelling expenses.

The legislative council exercises the attributes of the House of Lords in this country, having power to alter and even to reject all bills sent up from the lower house; they can also originate bills, which, however, must pass the ordeal of the representative assembly. It was at first proposed that this body should consist of hereditary nobility, selected from the great landed proprietors; but as such a class could scarcely exist in a new country, where so few possessed large fortunes or the means of acquiring them, it was finally determined that the members should be appointed for life by *mandamus* from the king.

The governor, with the aid of an executive council of

eleven, appointed like himself by the sovereign, exercised all the executive functions. No act passed by the legislature could become law till it received his assent, which he had power also to suspend till the measure had been submitted to the government at home; and even after it had been sanctioned by him, and come into operation, the king retained the power of disallowing it within two years. No new tax could be imposed without the consent of the Assembly; and though this law was not retrospective, the existing burdens were so very light, as to make the exception of little consequence. The jurisdiction of the legislature extended to every object connected with the colony; but any act affecting religion, its ministers or revenues, or the waste lands belonging to the crown, was to be laid before the two houses of Parliament, and remain there for thirty days before the royal assent could be given.

The constitution of Upper Canada was made nearly an exact copy of this on a somewhat smaller scale. The House of Assembly comprised originally sixteen members, which, with the increase of population and settlement, have been raised to sixty-two; one for each of the towns of Toronto, Kingston, Niagara, and Brockville, and, in general, two for each county.

The departments of finance, military defence, and administration of justice, need not be treated at great length, as they will doubtless be greatly modified in the process of new-modelling which the constitution of the two provinces is about to undergo.

The most considerable branch of revenue is derived from the duties on imported goods, which are paid almost wholly in Lower Canada; but as the upper province receives a considerable quantity of the commodities, it is allowed a varying proportion of the income, formerly a third, now raised to two-fifths. There are besides licenses of several descriptions,—fines, duty on emigrants, money raised by the sale of land and of timber; which last, with some smaller items, are termed the casual and territorial branches.

The entire revenue of Lower Canada in 1834 amount-

ed to £156,589. Of this there was expended on the civil government £18,648; collection of revenue, £11,474; justice, £7381; churches and schools, £23,167; surveyors' departments, roads, and public works, £30,334; local corps and militia, £316; pensions, £1036; miscellaneous (including emigration), £15,832.

The income of Upper Canada in the same year was £108,841. The branches of expenditure were,—civil government, £20,851; collection of revenue, £2101; judicial, £4980; churches and schools, £17,409; roads and public works, £95,407; local corps and militia, £585; pensions, &c. £4665; interest of debt, £10,654; miscellaneous, £5778.

We can give from private sources a more detailed account of the revenues of the upper province for a later period. They are divided into those belonging to the crown, which are there still considerable, and the provincial, which are at the disposal of the House of Assembly. The former stood thus in 1835:—

RECEIPT.

Payment by Canada Company,	£20,000
Crown lands,	4,328
... timber,	4,693
Fees on grants,	2,040
Rents,	381
Fines,	203
Seizures,	1,387
	£33,032

EXPENDITURE.

Civil government,	£8,908
Public offices,	1,630
Aid in building chapels, Catholic, Scotch, and Wesleyan,	1,271
Presbyterian Synod,	700
Scotch ministers,	1,586
Church of England missionaries,	2,345
College,	1,000
Purchase of lands from Indians,	5,515
Expense of an exploring party,	1,135
Location of emigrants,	3,913
..... commuted pensioners,	508
Catholic priests,	1,000
Surveys, Canada Company,	1,518
Roads and bridges,	1,468
	£32,497

Of the provincial revenue the following is the estimate for 1836:—

RECEIPT.

Debentures,	£379,222
Proportion of import duties (one-third),	55,000
Licenses,	8,250
Duties on imports from United States,	12,000
Bank dividends,	2,000
Tolls on Burlington Canal,	1,800
..... Kettle Creek Harbour,	400
	£458,672

EXPENDITURE.

To complete service of 1835,	£14,363
Interest of debt,	27,463
Justice,	7,223
Civil estimate,	9,272
Contingencies of legislature,	10,000
Common schools,	3,150
District schoolmasters,	1,200
Militia pensions,	900
Officers of legislature,	800
Lighthouses,	1,600
Agricultural societies,	800
Steam dredging-machine,	500
Sundries,	2,066
Improvement of the St Lawrence,	280,000
Redemption of debentures,	99,245
	£458,672

The large sum raised by debentures, and constituting by much the greater proportion of the receipts, was for the improvement of the navigation of the St Lawrence, an object laudable in itself, but beyond the resources of the province; through which and some similar undertakings it has incurred a debt of nearly a million, and thereby involved itself in considerable embarrassment.*

The British Government have usually maintained three regiments of the line in Lower Canada, but this number of course has been of late much augmented. The militia of that province were returned in 1827 at about 80,000 effective men, though these had among them only 10,000 muskets. Only a small portion can be at present fit for service. The militia of Upper Canada

* Martin's British Colonies, vol. iii. p. 143. Colonial Expenditure and Revenues (Aug. 10, 1836), p. 9-11. Private information.

exceeds 50,000, who in critical circumstances have proved themselves equally brave and loyal.*

Justice is administered by two courts of King's Bench at Quebec and Montreal, each consisting of a chief-justice and three subordinate ones. There are provincial judges in the districts of Three Rivers, Gaspé, and St Francis; but there is no supreme tribunal, which Mr Buller considers a serious defect. There lies, however, a general appeal to the executive council. Each district contains a sheriff, a coroner, a prothonotary, and a clerk of the peace. Courts of Quarter Sessions have been partially established; those others which take cognizance of cases not exceeding £6, 5s. currency, are considered by some to be useful, though others allege that they encourage litigation. In the upper province there is one court of King's Bench, with two puisne judges, and a local one in each of the eleven districts.†

Such had been for nearly fifty years the constitution of Canada. But in consequence of events well known to our readers, and already narrated, it has been to a great extent dissolved, and the British Parliament are now employed in the important task of its reconstruction. The necessity for this important change has arisen while the present work was in course of passing through the press; and as affairs have now assumed such an aspect as makes a call upon every one who can throw any light upon the subject, the author does not feel justified in withholding the suggestions that have occurred to him in the course of a long and attentive consideration of it. He has observed that even the ablest writers for the public press proceed in most cases upon very imperfect knowledge of colonial matters, and view them chiefly according to their bearings upon the supposed interests of parties at home. In the process of collecting materials for these volumes, he could not fail to acquire some knowledge of Canada, and he is not conscious of being biassed by connexion with any faction whether in this country or in the colony. In this impression he is

* Martin, vol. iii. pp. 140, 260.

† Lord Durham's Report, Appendix C, p. 14-17.

not a little confirmed by the circumstance that his views do not coincide exactly with those of any of the leading statesmen, having been studiously formed on the exclusive grounds of public principle and constitutional law.

It may be desirable, before entering upon the main questions connected with this subject, to clear the way by the consideration of an important preliminary. Lord Durham has stated in very strong terms his conviction that enmity arising from difference of race is the most deep-seated source of the evils in the lower province. His lordship here coincides with a numerous party in this country, who represent the French Canadian as a determined rebel, whose complaints of grievances were only a pretence to justify his rising in arms and attempting to shake off the British connexion. He considers this hostility so rooted that a whole generation must pass away before there can be even a chance of its removal; and under this view the situation of Lower Canada is exhibited as quite hopeless.* The evils arising from this cause are, in fact, represented as so enormous that one year must not be allowed to pass without a remedy,† and yet the only one proposed, being the union of the two provinces, though probably an ultimate good, will most certainly in the first instance imbitter the enmity. The habitans will unquestionably consider it to be, what it really is, a plan to deprive them of their representative majority, and place them under British control.

We are inclined however to believe, that this antipathy is by no means of such a deep and irreconcilable nature as Lord Durham and others suppose. Let it be remembered, that for nearly sixty years this people remained perfectly happy and contented under English sway. During two great wars, when the most favourable opportunities for emancipating themselves were afforded, they not only rejected all the invitations of the enemy, but took an active part in repelling his inroads. Before the hostilities of 1813 the majority of the assembly had already commenced their contest with the executive; why then, if their object was to

* Report, p. 22-27. † Ibid. p. 93.

separate from Britain, did they throw away so good a chance, when her arms were so completely occupied in Europe, that a general rising would have been almost certainly successful? Indeed we greatly doubt if mere difference of race ever produces a lasting enmity, unless when inflamed by political feelings. For instance, the Highland and Lowland Scotch, as is well known, are completely dissimilar in origin, language, manners, and character. From the days of Montrose down to the rebellion in 1745, hostility reigned between them, because in the great struggle between popular rights and prerogative they embraced with ardour opposite sides. But when that contest closed, and Pitt, in the war of 1756, enlisted the Highlanders in the royal army, they became the most gallant defenders of the British crown. All jealousy has entirely ceased between them and their neighbours in the plains, who even take pleasure in recording the exploits performed against themselves by those hardy mountaineers. We are not aware of any hostile sentiment existing between the Welsh and the English, or the Bretons and the other French. The Cossacks, though in many respects alien to the Russians, and retaining all their native peculiarities, are amongst the bravest troops of the Czar. In India there appears no existing enmity between the Mohammedans and Hindoos, now that both are under a common yoke. Even that detached portion of the Canadian French settled on the river Detroit, though they might have alleged the same grounds of discontent with the others, showed themselves during the late commotions perfectly loyal. We have then no hesitation in asserting, that feelings connected with the difference of race have assumed their present exasperated tone solely in consequence of having been combined with a political conflict, the nature of which we shall presently endeavour to point out.

Lord Durham has stated as his fixed opinion, that as the first object should be to make the lower province entirely English, this alteration ought to be immediately commenced, and firmly, though cautiously, followed up. Unluckily, his lordship gives scarcely a

single hint as to the precise measures to be adopted for accomplishing this purpose. To make a Frenchman an Englishman by act of Parliament, will, we fear, be a most arduous attempt. We regret this language the more, as well as its reported repetition by the British minister, since, contrary we believe to the intentions of both, it may seem to sanction the demand made by a powerful party, that the French Canadians should henceforth be treated as a vassal race, excluded from all political influence and privilege. Besides, it seems difficult to imagine how any direct measures could be adopted for the proposed end, which would not partake, if not of persecution, at least of exclusion and privation, imposed upon them merely because their origin was not the same as ours. Independently of all other objections, there seems room to fear that such treatment would only make them cling with a more dogged and gloomy obstinacy to their national feelings, which would then be necessarily combined with enmity to the ruling power. The only mode, we apprehend, in which a government can harmonize two different races, is to treat both with perfect impartiality, and to recognise no distinction whatever between them. It is thus, by his lordship's own statement, that the Americans have acted in Louisiana; it is thus, in fact, that people of the most different origin, creed, and character, migrating into the United States, are made to live together on good terms. It is, no doubt, difficult without minute local inquiry to decide on the very best mode for regaining the affections of the habitans. At present they seem reduced by the injudicious subdivision of property to a state of indigence, out of which they have scarcely the means of emerging, and therefore it might be desirable to aid them in any attempt to better their circumstances. With this view prizes and other modes of introducing improved agricultural processes; small grants of land in convenient situations with the means of transporting thither their social arrangements and religious institutions; and, finally, some preference as to employment in any public works which may be carried on throughout their territory, are means which at least merit consideration.

We shall now proceed to examine the different branches of the colonial government, the defective working of which led to the late convulsion, and endeavour to ascertain the mode in which they may be advantageously reconstructed. The executive may properly be noticed first, as being the one in regard to which perhaps the real ground of dissatisfaction existed.

It does not appear that the late disastrous contest can be regarded as arising from grievance on the one side, or from oppression on the other. The colonists enjoyed perfect security of person and property; their taxes were exceedingly light; their church enjoyed all its privileges and property; and it is gratifying to add, that religious dissension had no share in the struggle. All the influence of the clergy was exerted against the outbreak, and had doubtless much effect in mitigating its violence. The successive governors were men of respectable character, mild manners, and had been popular elsewhere in similar situations. The movement, then, was not excited by suffering; it was a dispute for power.

In Britain, ever since the representative system was fully organized, a distinct understanding has prevailed, that those who can command a majority in the House of Commons must be the chief advisers and ministers of the crown. We know not, indeed, of any principle in the constitution, nor can we recollect any law or compact, by which this rule is established. During the long struggle which issued in the supremacy of the popular body, we are not aware of their having ever urged any direct claim that the king should have no ministers but such as were agreeable to them. The language usually held is, that the persons who administer the government are responsible to the representatives of the people; yet they have no recognised form of enforcing such responsibility, and if desirous to bring to trial any public man, they can do it only by impeaching him before the Lords. The crown alone names its own servants, and alone dismisses them. But ever since the Lower House acquired their present power, the sovereign has found it impossible to carry on public affairs with advantage, upon any other basis than appointing a

ministry acceptable to them. Whether intended or not, this result inevitably arises from the practical working of the representative system, and hence the head of such a government can in no case with safety refuse to yield to it.

In considering the course of administration in Lower Canada with reference to this principle, there will appear good reason to concur with Lord Durham, who has, we think, rendered an important service by drawing to it the attention of the public. Indeed, while he regards it only as an accessory to the grand evil of the difference of race, to us it appears the main source of the malady, having chiefly given to that national distinction its malignant character. The fact is, that during a long series of years, the parties commanding an overwhelming majority in the House of Assembly were, on that special ground, excluded from every office of trust, profit, and dignity:

"Hac fonte derivata clades."

If we examine the whole train of the Assembly's proceedings, we shall find that their movements from the first were directed to obtain a control over the executive. With this view they began by offering to defray the whole expense of the civil government; an apparent boon, which, though at first rejected from suspicion as to its object, was ultimately accepted. Still considerable funds remained at the disposal of the governor, and available when the ordinary supplies were refused. Hence it became the principal aim of the popular party to have all these yielded up, and to obtain the uncontrolled mastery over the whole of the colonial revenues. With the same view, they evaded the grant of a permanent civil list, foreseeing that, as the imperial exchequer defrayed the naval and military expenditure, if the civil officers were entitled to a fixed allowance, the administration could be carried on without any reference to the will of the Assembly. The laudable efforts made by successive cabinets to remove the grievances complained of, only urged the reformers to farther demands. They thus acquired a high idea of their own power, yet they did not obtain what they really wanted; for, from the

evidence of Sir James Kempt, it appears, that in 1828, many years after the struggle had commenced, the chief offices were still in the hands of the minority.* Subsequently, indeed, the government was thrown open to a great extent, and Lord Gosford went out with such liberal intentions, that had the leaders of the Assembly possessed prudence and moderation, they might have peaceably attained their object. But in the politic, as in the natural body, the removal of the exciting cause will not at once heal a deep-seated malady. Long resentment had rankled in their minds; a train of concessions had led them to believe that perseverance would ultimately gain for them all they might ask; and they had committed themselves with their followers by violent demands. Delusive ideas had also been formed of their own strength, and of the disposition towards them, both of the mother-country and of the United States. They were thus impelled to that criminal course which ruined their cause, and involved the provinces in confusion and bloodshed.

In considering this contest as connected with difference of race, we may observe, that as the executive were from the first almost exclusively British, as soon as the majority, who were French, began to aim at power, the struggle necessarily assumed a national character. Yet Lord Durham admits that, till very lately, a considerable number of English, attached to popular principles, ranked under their banner. It was not, seemingly, till the one party began directly to plan treason and separation, that the latter shrunk back, and left the rebel faction. The former, from their limited intelligence, and from defects in their electoral system to be afterwards noticed, were brought under the influence of a few leaders, whose impulse they blindly followed, and of whose disappointed ambition they became the victims.

The conduct of these individuals cannot be justified, scarcely even palliated; yet we suspect, that the same system will always be found more or less inconsistent with public tranquillity. The assemblies may complain that the mere enactment of laws is an imperfect pri-

* Minutes of Evidence of Committee, 1834, p. 90.

vilege, when the officers administering them are desirous to nullify their operation. The popular leaders will generally be able, active, and stirring individuals, possessing a paramount influence over the rest of the community. We should be sorry, indeed, to underrate in any degree the obligations which rest on every public man to regard his country's welfare as superior to any private interest; but the legislator must make his calculations on the world as it is, and cannot expect such perfect disinterestedness in the bulk of mankind. With some of the ablest, personal ambition will be the principal motive; and even many who are sincerely desirous to serve their country will, in return for their exertions, expect a share of the honour, power, and emolument of office. If disappointed, they will be too likely to array themselves and the great body of the people against the government, and to keep the country in a state of incessant agitation.

It has appeared the more necessary to dwell upon this topic, since a different view has hitherto been taken, even by liberal statesmen. The Commissioners of Inquiry, though they admit that the exclusion of the members of the Assembly from office was a main cause of the recent disturbances, refused to sanction the principle which would have rendered the executive responsible to that body.* The general instruction given to governors is to choose public servants without reference to any political or party distinctions. For example, Lord Glenelg writes to Lord Gosford in these words:—"It would be scarcely possible to find any terms more emphatic than those employed by the Earl of Ripon, to enjoin the utmost impartiality in the distribution of public offices in Lower Canada, without reference to national or political distinctions, or to any consideration, except that of superior capacity and fitness for the trust." To Sir Francis Head he says:—"In the selection of persons to execute public trusts, you will be guided exclusively by the comparison of the claims which the different candidates may derive from past services, or from personal qualifications."† While

* Report, p. 110. † Instructions, &c. pp. 47, 57, 58.

it is impossible not to applaud these principles in the abstract, we cannot but suspect that they are competent only to an absolute government. In a free constitution, while political feeling is still so warm and violent, and men array themselves with such determination on opposite sides, the attempt to carry on the administration and fill executive departments without any reference to party seems chimerical. It cannot be attempted in the mother-country, how then can it be practicable amid the somewhat less polished feelings of a colony! A deliberative assembly is advantageously composed of the most opposite elements, the collision between which may bring out a combined result nearly representing the general opinion; but an executive body must be composed of members whose sentiments closely approximate, and who can act together in harmony. Since, then, the administration must be in the hands of some one party, that which possesses a commanding influence in the Assembly is likely, not always indeed, yet in the general course of things, to be more able, more effective, and assuredly more popular, than those whom a governor, even with good intentions, may select. He finds himself, on his arrival, surrounded by a circle of old officials, military officers, rich merchants, well informed men, zealously loyal, and eager to smooth the way before him. Very probably they possess a dexterity in business, which their opponents had no opportunity of acquiring. He easily persuades himself that these are the fittest men to govern, and finds a body already formed around him, beyond which it would be very troublesome to penetrate. This appears in fact to be the class by which colonies have hitherto been ruled; and, though in many instances respectable, they have in general little sympathy with the mass of the people, or with the assemblies, which they are apt to represent as turbulent and factious meetings, that ought to be kept in check as much as possible.

It may here be proper to notice the theories of Sir Francis Head, supported, as they were to a certain extent, by a successful practice. This clever but speculative writer contends, that a man in office "ought to make

public opinion follow him, and never attempt to follow it." He certainly, by his energetic character and popular talents, succeeded in doing this to a remarkable degree. He changed the character of the Assembly, and procured a majority favourable to his measures, so that his course, if not his principle, was strictly constitutional. But this talent of commanding acquiescence is a peculiar one, which cannot be expected or required in an ordinary ruler, with whom a deference to public opinion, though here ridiculed, "as allowing his head to be emptied of its contents and stuffed with republican brains," is a necessary quality. In denouncing the *fatal* system of conciliation, and declaring that cool, stern, *unconciliatory* measures are the most *popular* in Canada, Sir Francis goes farther, we suppose, than any statesman will be inclined to follow.

These observations, however, are by no means to be understood as recommending that the selection should be made out of the violent extremes of faction. In the present excited state of political feeling throughout the world, something in the nature of a *juste milieu*, seems the only system upon which a country can be safely governed. We cannot however help observing, that office has great influence in mitigating the excesses of patriotic zeal. It is not probable that men will attempt to overthrow a government of which they are at the head. Even those excluded from power, when convinced that this privation arises from the adverse opinion of their countrymen, and can only be removed by a change in their views, will cease to regard the existence of the supreme executive as an insuperable bar to their ambition.

The only important objection urged against this principle is that which represents it as inconsistent with the unity of the empire, and amounting in effect to a separation. The Commissioners on Grievances contend, that all union with the parent nation through the head of the executive would be thereby brought to an end, and the provinces rendered virtually independent.* We cannot, however, but agree with Lord Durham, that this difficulty is removed as soon as we distinguish between the

* Report, p. 110.

external and internal affairs of a colony. The former include war and peace, foreign intercourse and negotiation, commerce with the mother-country and with other states, to which we should add the disposal of the waste lands, and the concerns of emigration. These appear to include all the particulars in which the interests of the two parties are connected together; and in these respects, the authority of the administration at home must be paramount, whilst the colony, if dissatisfied, can obtain relief only by petition and remonstrance. Upon this basis the general and particular governments of the United States have for upwards of fifty years maintained a union profitable to both parties, although the one does not even appoint a single officer employed in the other. It is said that the power of the sovereign, as exercised through the governor, would by such proceedings be entirely annihilated. But it would not be more so than at home, where he has been repeatedly obliged to change his ministers in compliance with the expressed wishes of Parliament; and it must be more annoying to be dictated to, in reference to the servants immediately around his person, than with regard to those who are to administer for him the affairs of a distant province. We have included among the functions of the imperial government the disposal of the waste lands, and the arrangements of emigration, although the control of these particulars was pertinaciously demanded by the Assembly, who complained of gross abuses committed in their management. Yet it appears that such territories, as long as they remain unappropriated, belong less to the colony than to the general empire; and accordingly, in the United States, they are at the sole disposal of the central government. Indeed, though great deference is due to local opinions, there does arise in certain circumstances an interest opposite to that of the mother-country. In the infant state of a settlement, it is manifest that immigration is advantageous to those already located; but afterwards, by raising the price of land, exciting competition in various shapes, and perhaps deranging political relations, it becomes an object of jeal-

ousy. These influences acted strongly on the Assembly of Lower Canada, and are felt also in the United States, where the great influx of settlers has excited complaint, and been even subjected to somewhat severe restrictions.

It may be finally observed, that among the officers, the choice of whom ought to be guided by the opinion of the Assembly, the governor and those immediately attached to his person cannot properly be included. He represents the crown, and must therefore be independent of any local influence. In regard to the internal concerns of the colony, he, and the cabinet through him, would, under the proposed system, possess all the powers of the sovereign, so that it seems not either decent or correct in the commissioners to represent him in that case as the mere "mockery of a nominal governor."* In respect to those particulars, wherein connexion with the general empire consists, he must be guided by directions from London, and can receive from the Assembly only advice or petition. We concur with Sir Charles Grey, that he might derive advantage from a small council, distinct from that for internal affairs, composed of persons connected with the mother-country, and qualified to offer advice respecting these important relations.

In order to give due effect to the principle now stated, it is obvious that the executive council can no longer retain the almost immutable character which it originally possessed; but must become removable as the ministry is at home. Still an important question remains, whether it should consist, like the British cabinet, of government officers, each filling and being responsible for a public department; or should, as has hitherto been usual in the colonies, be partly composed of individuals following private or professional pursuits, and serving the public as counsellors only. Lord Durham decidedly prefers the former system, which certainly has stood the test of experience on the great scale of national affairs. There is, however, a wide difference between the two cases. The large emoluments and extensive patronage enjoyed by British statesmen, render their situations ob-

* Report of Commissioners on Grievances, p. 111.

jects of ambition to the first men in the country. But in a colony the corresponding places could not without extravagance be rendered equally desirable; and there may be persons eminently qualified to give advice, for whom it would be more eligible to pursue mercantile, legal, or other lucrative occupations. While, therefore, responsible ministers form the head of the government, there may be an advantage in including in the council some able and influential individuals, who do not take any actual part in the administration.

We regret to find, since writing these remarks, that the British minister still declines admitting, even as to internal affairs, any responsibility of the executive, similar to that of the cabinet at home. His lordship dwells chiefly on the supposed cases of the misconduct of a militia regiment in the field, and of a difference of opinion between the home and colonial minister on the subject of foreign affairs. Both these, it is manifest, belong to the external relations of the colony, which must be under the supreme direction of the imperial government. Even in regard to internal affairs, cases may no doubt arise, such as slavery, where interference becomes justifiable; but these are only exceptions, such as must occur to every general rule. There indeed seems no propriety in establishing the system by legislative enactment, or even by formal declaration, neither of which steps has ever been taken in Britain. There is required only a general tacit understanding, such as exists here. We are gratified to find Lord John Russell represented as admitting that such a harmony between the two departments is desirable; and according to Sir Francis Head, ministers have established it in New Brunswick and elsewhere. Probably, therefore, though disavowed in principle, it may henceforth, more than formerly, be practically acted upon.

The next object to be attended to is the constitution of the Representative Assembly; for their own acts, coupled with the statements of Lord Durham, make manifest that improvement is much wanted. The reckless violence of faction, as well as their local jobbing

and petty manœuvring, mark a decidedly low tone of political feeling. It seems almost indispensable that their character and views should be somewhat refined, before they be elevated to the prominent place proposed to be given to them, or the executive government be committed to the hands of their leaders; the greater part of whom, though they would doubtless have been very different persons if possessed of power, are certainly not such as we should wish to see at the head of a British settlement. The only remedy suggested by Lord Durham, that, namely, of preventing them from passing money-votes independently of the executive, and from vesting the funds in commissioners of their own appointment, is certainly very inadequate. It might prevent some of the evils that now occur, but would have no tendency to change the composition and character of the Assembly. The only fundamental remedy, though it might not accord with the views of that nobleman and of other eminent statesmen, would, it is presumed, be found in giving a certain influence to property in the elections. The qualification in the rural districts, which comprehend almost all Canada, has already been stated as the old English one of 40s. in land; which, in the mother-country, was at the time of the Reform Bill raised to £10. Even the former amount in Britain, from the difficulty of procuring land at all, restricts the franchise within comparatively narrow bounds. But in Canada, where this species of possession is to a certain extent in the hands of almost every individual, the result is nearly equivalent to universal suffrage.

The species of qualification now proposed would be attended with two important advantages. It would secure, generally speaking, a higher degree of intelligence, and at the same time an aversion to disturbance and revolutionary excitement. Both these objects are peculiarly important in the colonies, where a ruder spirit of independence prevails, and the standard of education is still much inferior. In Lower Canada, an overwhelming majority of the electors are unable to read or write; while the means they possess of enlarging their ideas by

observation or intercourse with the world are extremely limited. This is a constituency which even an intelligent radical could scarcely view with complacency. Their favour will naturally be gained by leaders daring and violent, recklessly urging extreme measures; whose sway in the Assembly, whether in or out of office, could not be very consistent with public tranquillity. It will, no doubt, be urged, that means ought to be employed to remove this ignorance,—a suggestion in the propriety of which we readily concur; yet it would be chimerical to imagine, that the mere setting up a number of schools would instantaneously accomplish the desired object. Such institutions would act only upon the young, who, in growing up, might still imbibe largely the ideas and habits of their seniors; so that more than a generation must pass before any very decided change could be produced.

The example of the United States will probably be adduced by those who are adverse to such a limitation. It is not necessary to enter into any lengthened comparison, or to inquire, whether among the acknowledged merits of their political system the evils of its almost universal suffrage are not perceptible. It may be enough now to observe, that throughout a large portion of the Union, there has for ages been a very wide diffusion of intelligence; that through another section equally extensive the prevalence of slavery forms a severe property qualification; and finally, that this constitution being in its basis purely democratical, affords no ground for reasoning in relation to a colony which, as long as it is attached to Britain, must share the mixed government of the mother-country.

Another obvious advantage of giving some weight to property is, that without any national proscription, it would materially diminish the influence of the French population, and proportionally raise that of the British. How important this object is, even on the supposition of a union between the two provinces, will presently appear. With regard to the amount of qualification, there cannot certainly be any good ground for making it less than our own rate of £10. On the contrary, considering that the diffusion of property is much

wider, and that of intelligence more limited, double that amount would not probably be too high. It would in fact be less exclusive than the lower rate in this country, since there is scarcely an individual in the Canadas who, with ordinary intelligence and vigorous exertion, might not elevate himself to the possession of it.

The Legislative Council is another important institution which has not worked very satisfactorily, and yet there appears great difficulty in devising any improvement upon it. Its members, appointed by the crown for life, have been accused of being too subservient, while its collisions with the Assembly have been extremely violent. Lord Durham, who allows that, on repeated occasions, it has acted as a salutary check on the irregular proceedings of the latter body, nevertheless considers its constitution as inconsistent with sound principles, and requiring revisal. He does not, however, make any suggestions on the subject, and ministers, it appears, do not intend to propose any change, except as to the selection of its members, either from the representative body or from the holders of important offices, and as to the duration of their functions, to be limited to eight years. If the Assembly shall have its character raised, and at the same time obtain an executive acting in harmony with it, there will probably cease to be the same wide disjunction between the two legislative bodies.

It would be improper to conclude without noticing the plan of a union between the two Canadas, so strongly recommended by Lord Durham, and which the British cabinet have announced their intention to propose. The reasons in its favour, indeed, appear to be very strong. Although we hope to see the enmity of the French inhabitants overcome much sooner than his lordship anticipates, yet, considering its present intensity, some years must previously elapse; and during that interval it would be manifestly inexpedient to assemble a legislature in Lower Canada. The chief sway in the government could not, it is obvious, be given to a party who have been endeavouring to subvert it; while the superiority of their opponents could only be secured by imposing

certain humiliating disqualifications. If, therefore, this province were to stand alone, it might be necessary to permit a temporary exercise of absolute power, until the ferment now existing should in some degree subside. The arguments, however, urged by the noble lord against such a measure appear very conclusive. With the experience of a free government, and the example of the United States in their neighbourhood, it could scarcely fail to aggravate the spirit of discontent; and a delegated authority would not probably command sufficient respect. It is therefore only by the proposed union, that, without proscription or disfranchisement, the French party can be prevented from regaining their majority in the representation. The measure, moreover, seems urgently called for by the relative position of the two provinces, which renders their continued separation extremely inconvenient, especially to the upper, which is thus excluded from all direct communication with the sea. Accordingly, though such unions are usually at first unpopular, Upper Canada has shown a disposition decidedly favourable to it. The House of Assembly, who have declared this union indispensable, must better express the sentiments of the people than the Legislative Council, who, by a small majority, have withheld their assent. Even they, however, express a willingness to consider any plan which the British Government may propose.* We really see no ground for that precipitate haste demanded by Lord Durham and his friends, in a measure which, as already observed, can have no immediate effect in removing the main evil, consisting in French discontent. The delay till 1842 proposed by ministers, seems on the whole eligible, as enabling the measure to be maturely considered, and giving time for the violent and agitated feelings kindled during the recent contest to assume gradually a calmer tone.

There is here, however, a serious danger, to which Lord Durham has not sufficiently adverted. He calculates that out of a million in both provinces there are 450,000 French.† If, therefore, the system of election

* Correspondence (6th June 1839), p. 3-6. † Report, p. 110.

continue unaltered, they will return nine against eleven of the members of the united House of Assembly; and such a minority, seeking not only to oppose, but to overthrow a government, would, it is manifest, prove exceedingly embarrassing. Nor is this by any means the whole evil; for there is in Upper Canada a party of some strength decidedly republican, who having acted along with the French, would probably act so again; and these, reinforced by others who, from various causes, might happen to be discontented, could scarcely fail to secure a majority. This is not a merely speculative conclusion; for in the last meeting of the Assembly in the lower province, a healing measure proposed by Mr A. Stuart, a moderate oppositionist, was negatived by sixty-two to fifteen. The loyalists in the Assembly called by Sir Francis Head, in the upper province, were reckoned at forty-two to nineteen.* Thus we have—

	Government.	Opposition.
Lower Canada, . .	15	62
Upper Canada, . .	42	19
Both together, . .	57	81
Majority against Government,	24	

Lord Durham, in alluding to the chance of such a result, argues that the immigration of a single year would restore the equilibrium. Such an assembly, however, would exert every effort to prevent this influx, and the very condition into which the colony would be thereby thrown would greatly tend to deter British settlers from proceeding thither. Besides, it has neither been customary, nor would it be at all convenient, to re-arrange the electoral districts annually according to changes of population. The distribution once made must subsist for a considerable interval, during which the malecontent party would remain masters of the representative body.

It seems evident, therefore, that the proposed union can take place with no safety unless in connexion with some arrangement ensuring an immediate and decided

* Correspondence relative to Lower Canada, p. 43. Return, Sir F. Head, Upper Canada, p. 23.

majority to the British party in the Assembly. A rise in the property qualification, which has been shown on other grounds to be highly expedient, would in this respect have a considerable influence. The proposed new distribution of districts, in which respect is to be paid, not to population only, but to extent, and the prospect of their being filled up by successive bodies of emigrants, will produce a similar effect, and does not seem liable to serious objection.

We shall conclude with a subordinate, but still very important object, to which Lord Durham has devoted a laudable degree of attention. One of the greatest evils under which he considers the country to labour, is the absence of any institution such as would give to the people a control over their local affairs. Among the French inhabitants, it appears there never was any institution by which they were brought together for an administrative purpose, nor had they in their character, like the Anglo-Saxon race, any principle of energy or self-government to supply what was wanting. The southern districts were first peopled by settlers from the United States, who formed them into townships, after the model of those in the country they had left; but this course was checked by the British authorities. Under the new plan of government preparing for Canada, it is proposed to remedy this defect. Yet it seems to deserve consideration, whether, until the present excitement of factions has somewhat abated, such assemblies could take place without a perilous collision, and even some degree of oppression on the part of the majority. An arrangement of districts, making each to contain exclusively either French or English inhabitants, would in a great measure avert this danger. Yet it would tend to prolong the separation and retard that union of feeling between the two races which is so desirable. It seems, therefore, a measure not to be engaged in hastily, nor without the most minute attention to its arrangements and details.

With regard to Lord Durham's proposal of a general union of the provinces, we reserve its consideration till a future occasion, when we propose to give a general summary of British America. See Vol. III. Chap. IV.

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CHAPTER IV.

General View of the Maritime Provinces.

Situation and Extent—Character of the Coast—Fisheries—Forests—Early Voyages—Sir Humphrey Gilbert—His Equipment—Adventures on the Voyage—Transactions in Newfoundland—Loss of his largest Vessel—Final Catastrophe—French Voyages—Nova Scotia.

THE maritime, or, as they are sometimes termed, the seaboard provinces of British America, consist of Newfoundland on the north, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the south, with all the intermediate islands lying outside the river St Lawrence. Northward of this, on the coasts of Labrador and Hudson's Bay, there are detached stations of some importance, but no connected range of settlement. These territories are situated between 43° 25′ and 51° 39′ north latitude, 52° 44′ and 67° 53′ west longitude; but from their separated and insular position, the limits now described do not convey any precise idea of their extent, which has been estimated at about 81,900 square miles.*

This range of coast appears, with scarcely one exception, to be the most broken and diversified on the surface of the globe. The waves of the Atlantic, and the continued action of that mighty current called the Gulf Stream, have scooped it into islands and peninsulas of every form. Between these are to be found expanses of water equally various in their size and shape; interior seas, broad bays, deep gulfs, and long channels. These

* Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 1, 92, 180, 235.

extend the benefits of maritime communication to the most inland parts of the country; while the numerous smaller openings or coves produce harbours as spacious and secure as any in the world.

Nature, along the whole of this coast, presents an aspect peculiarly dreary. Though included within what we account in Europe the temperate zone, yet owing to the climatic difference which distinguishes America, the face of the land, for nearly half the year, is entirely covered with snow. The scene is rendered still more gloomy by large mountains and fields of ice, which, breaking up in spring from the shores of Greenland, float into these latitudes, where they appal the mariner, and disappear but slowly beneath the influences of summer. The impression is heightened by dense fogs enveloping the shores during a great portion of the year, when they would otherwise exhibit a more cheerful appearance.

An idea of barrenness was long closely associated with this range of territory, naturally suggested by the extreme rigour of the climate, and by the bleak aspect of its coasts. The surface is diversified by numerous eminences, not indeed of alpine elevation, yet giving to it a rough character, and when laid bare by the action of the waves, forming a broken and rocky border, of very unpromising appearance. The soil, even in the most favourable situations, was completely covered with almost impenetrable forests, which defied cultivation without such previous labour as the early settlers were little inclined to bestow. These original impressions have in a great measure disappeared before the investigations of modern enterprise. It has been found that the length and severity of the winter is fully compensated by the intense heat of the summer, which during its short duration ripens even the most valuable grains. Behind the rocky screen of the coast, a careful survey has discovered fertile valleys and plains, sufficiently extensive to afford subsistence to many millions of people. The trees, by a vigorous exertion of industry, can be gradually cleared away, when there is disclosed a virgin

soil of great fertility. Even the climate, except at one particular season of the year, is by no means so disagreeable as was at first apprehended; it is even distinguished by peculiar salubrity. The cultivation of these countries has therefore been begun, and is in a state of considerable progress; but as only a small part has yet been subjected to the plough, the produce does not afford a maintenance even to its present limited population.

Under every drawback, however, these districts have acquired great commercial importance from their fisheries and their timber. For the former their coasts are perhaps the most favourable in the world. Not only do their vast extent and deep winding bays afford ample opportunities and commodious stations, but the banks in their vicinity, rising nearly to the surface of the water, are of extraordinary extent, and attract the fish in vast numbers from the surrounding seas. The great one of Newfoundland appears unrivalled in magnitude and productiveness. The cod too, with which it chiefly abounds, is of excellent quality, and, by the simple process of drying, its palatable and nutritious virtues can be almost entirely preserved. So important was this branch of industry considered, that in a very short period after the first discovery of these shores, it ranked among the greatest objects of European enterprise.

The next grand feature consists in the forests which overspread an immense extent of these regions, filling every valley, mounting to the summit of every hill, and forming one uninterrupted covering. The hand of cultivation has yet made only a very small inroad upon this vast wilderness. The splendid tints of its varied foliage are described by Mr M'Gregor to be almost without example: "In Europe, in Asia, in Africa, and even in South America, the primeval trees, how much soever their magnitude may arrest admiration, do not grow in the promiscuous style that prevails in the great general character of the North American woods. Many varieties of the pine, intermingled with birch, maple, beech, oak, and numerous other tribes,

branch luxuriantly over the banks of lakes and rivers, extend in stately grandeur along the plains, and stretch proudly up to the very summits of the mountains. It is impossible to exaggerate the autumnal beauty of these forests: nothing under heaven can be compared to its effulgent grandeur. Two or three frosty nights in the decline of autumn, transform the boundless verdure of a whole empire into every possible tint of brilliant scarlet, rich violet, every shade of blue and brown, vivid crimson, and glittering yellow. The stern, inexorable fir tribes alone maintain their eternal sombre green. All others, in mountains or in valleys, burst into the most glorious vegetable beauty, and exhibit the most splendid and most enchanting panorama on earth."*

These shores were naturally the first towards which North American discovery was directed. The Cabots, Cortereal, and Verazzano, pursued their course exclusively either along them or the neighbouring part of the United States. Cartier, as we have seen, ascended the gulf and river of St Lawrence; but his spirited expedition had no immediate result, and this object was not followed up for a considerable time.

The numerous English voyages to this quarter had chiefly in view the discovery of a north-western passage to the East Indies. Yet, even under Henry VIII., so long ago as 1536, an effort was made to colonise Newfoundland, at the expense and under the auspices of Mr Hore, a wealthy merchant of London. It became, however, wholly abortive, and had indeed a most disastrous issue.† But in the reign of Elizabeth it was renewed on a great scale, by individuals the most distinguished in the nation for rank and talent. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, powerfully seconded by Sir Walter Raleigh, undertook to establish settlements on the coasts which England claimed

* M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

† Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. I., Polar Seas and Regions, 4th edition, p. 190.

in virtue of the discoveries formerly made by the Cabots. The queen, though she declined embarking any treasure in this enterprise, lavished on its authors privileges and immunities almost regal. These indeed in that age were most freely bestowed, and seem to have been necessary to tempt adventurers to seek, across a stormy ocean and amid a thousand perils, new provinces in unknown and barbarous regions. By letters patent of 11th June 1578, Sir Humphrey, his heirs and assignees for ever, were to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy, all "heathen and barbarous lands" which he might discover; and wherever, in the next six years, he should form a settlement, no one else was to approach within 200 leagues. He was to exercise all the functions of administration, civil and criminal, both by sea and land. Her majesty merely reserved to herself homage and a fifth of the gold and silver which the region, it was hoped, would be found to contain.*

Sir Humphrey, inspired with these brilliant hopes, embarked a large part of his fortune in a western expedition; and the only difficulty was to procure seamen willing to engage in such a rough and hazardous enterprise. Those whom alone he could assemble were chiefly volunteers of doubtful character, whose courage failed when the moment of embarkation came; and desertion so thinned their numbers, that he was obliged to set sail with a mere handful of regular mariners. He soon afterwards encountered the most tempestuous weather, and was driven back with the loss of a handsome ship, and also of its captain, Miles Morgan, an officer whom he highly esteemed.†

These disasters seemed enough to shake the firmest determination, especially as the knight of Compton had no longer sufficient fortune left to fit himself out again to any adequate extent. By the liberal aid, however, of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Peckham, and other distinguished friends, he succeeded in furnishing another squadron, though on a scale that would now be deemed

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 135-137. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 146.

very insufficient. The largest vessel, called the Raleigh, furnished by Sir Walter, was of 200 tons burden. The admiral hoisted his own flag in the Delight of 120. The Golden Hind and the Swallow, of 40 each, and the Squirrel, a little bark of only 10, completed the equipment. The crews, though amounting to only 260, could not be collected without including persons condemned for piracy on the narrow seas,—a crime then prevalent; they formed a desperate band, and, as will afterwards appear, they were by no means inclined to relinquish their original vocation. He succeeded, however, in procuring individuals skilled in various trades, —masons, carpenters, and workers in metal; nor did he omit musicians, morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and other means of recreating the eyes and gaining the affections of savage tribes.

Thus prepared, Sir Humphrey sailed on the 11th of June 1583; but he soon encountered many reverses similar to those by which he had been formerly baffled. On the third day sickness broke out on board the Raleigh, his largest ship, the crew of which immediately forsook him, and returned to the shores of Britain. The commander, however, pushed on, nor allowed himself to be discouraged, even when, on the 20th of July, the Swallow and the Squirrel were separated from him in a thick fog. About the end of that month, he with his two remaining vessels came in view of the great bank of Newfoundland, its vicinity being indicated by the incredible number of seafowl that darkened the air. On the 30th he reached the coast, by the aspect of which his followers appear to have been variously affected. It being then the height of summer, the surface even of this wild region was clothed with verdure, and adorned by wild fruits and flowers. But Parmenius, a learned correspondent, plainly states, "My good Hakluyt, of the maner of this countrey what shall I say, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse." All agree, however, as to the vast profusion of the finny tribes with which both the seas and rivers were replenished.

The squadron had here the satisfaction to meet their lost companion, the Swallow, which presented a spectacle not a little surprising. Her crew, chiefly consisting of pirates, had been very indifferently clad; but now they appeared on deck handsomely attired, and, in transports of joy, were dancing and waving their caps in the air. Sir Humphrey lost no time in inquiring into the cause of a transformation for which this part of the world seemed to afford such slender materials. He obtained a most unsatisfactory solution. Happening to meet a French vessel returning from the fishery, the crew "following still their kind," cast upon her a longing eye. Knowing, however, their captain to be an honourable man, they merely besought permission to go on board and borrow a few articles which they urgently wanted. Having obtained leave, with strict injunctions to abstain from every kind of violence, they proceeded to the ship, seized the crew, stripped them of clothes, food, and every article they could find, and then by winding cords round their heads, produced such exquisite torture, that they rendered up their most hidden stores. Having effected all this with wonderful expedition, "like men skilfull in such mischiefe," they returned to the Swallow; but their boat being upset several of them were drowned, and the rest suffered afterwards the full penalty of their crime.

The fishery on this shore was found already in a state of activity, thirty-six vessels, sixteen of them English, being busily engaged in it; and Sir Humphrey immediately assumed the entire sovereignty, as vested in him by the queen's patent. His first step was to cause each of his ships to draw up a list of their wants, the duty of supplying which was then partitioned among the different fishermen, foreign as well as native. They are said to have complied with the utmost alacrity, not only furnishing what was demanded, but adding wines, marmalade, biscuit, and other delicacies, with a daily allowance of fish. The officers were also entertained at great festivals, given every week on the nomination of a fishing

admiral for that period. "In short," says Hayes, "we were supplied as if we had bene in a countrey or some citie, populous and plentifull of all things." This delight at having their property taken from them might have appeared mysterious, but for a hint dropt by Parmenius, who says, "They *being not able to match us*, suffer us not to be hunger-starved." The discovery vessels being armed, while the others were only fitted out for peaceful pursuits, possessed the means of enforcing their own terms.

The commander proceeded now to avail himself of this advantage, in order to establish a permanent dominion over that remote region. Having fixed his headquarters at St John's, he proclaimed that a circuit of two hundred leagues in every direction was held by him in full right under her majesty, and by virtue of her grant; demanding a presentation of wood and water in token of possession, by himself, his heirs, and assignees, for ever. The English laws, constitution, and form of worship, were established. It was ordained, that whoever should attempt any thing prejudicial to this newly acquired dominion, should be forthwith tried and executed; and any person who should utter words "sounding to the dishonour of her majesty," should lose his ears. Lofty as were these pretensions, they are said to have been acquiesced in with the utmost cheerfulness,—a circumstance for which we suspect an explanation must be sought in the intimation afforded by Parmenius.*

Sir Humphrey, however, did not attempt to form a settlement in this dreary latitude. Many of his men, disgusted with the country and the prospect of wintering there, and longing to return, disappeared in various directions. Their character rendered them most unscrupulous as to the means. One party seized a fishing-vessel, turning the crew on shore; others laid a plot to treat in a similar way the ships of the squadron; but this was discovered and defeated. Some fled into the

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 148-165.

woods, in hopes of making their way to England in other barks. As the sick, too, had become numerous, the commander sent them home in the Swallow, taking with him only the three other vessels; for the Squirrel also had joined them at another part of the coast. Having sailed on the 20th August, he directed his course to Sable Island, recommended, on no very satisfactory intelligence, as an eligible station. Unfortunately, too, the sailing directions were doubtful and imperfect; so that, after quitting Cape Race, and venturing into the open sea, they were soon involved in much perplexity. Sir Humphrey, having apparently formed an overweening estimate of his own skill in seamanship, to which he had not been bred, disregarded the warnings given by the master of the Delight, that he was carrying the vessel towards dangerous shoals and banks. Cox, of the Golden Hind, was of the same opinion; but being in the rear, was obliged to follow. In his narrative he says, that on the night of the 28th, the crew of the Delight were so little aware of their danger, that they were gaily sounding trumpets, hautboys, and other musical instruments; but it was "like the swanne that singeth before her death." On the 29th, there arose a violent gale from the south-east, with heavy rain, and so thick a mist that they could not see a cable's length. Cox next morning thought he saw white cliffs, but it seems to have been only the foam of the breakers. The soundings, however, indicated that they were passing over dangerous banks. Signals were immediately made to the Delight; but before they could be acted upon, this their largest vessel had struck, when presently her whole stern went to pieces. The two others could afford no aid, being obliged to save themselves by standing immediately out to sea. The only means of escape was by a little pinnace, into which sixteen men leaped, including the master; but the captain, Maurice Brown, refused to leave his ship, and, with the rest of the crew, doubtless perished. Those in the boat could scarcely command their senses, or believe it possible, that in this little skiff,

amid a dark and stormy ocean, they could reach on these strange shores any haven of safety. Their danger was much increased by being completely overcrowded, so that Edward Headly proposed to choose four by lot, and cast them into the sea; but Clarke, the master, declared they would live and die together, "advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all as well as a few." They were tossed six days on the ocean, without any food but sea-weed, or any drink but salt water. Headly and another died; the others, quite exhausted, at last came in view of the shores of Newfoundland. They crept with difficulty to a sheltered spot, where they formed a habitation of boughs, and collecting the berries that grew round them in profusion, recruited their strength. Afterwards, when sailing along the coast, they met a Biscayan vessel, which kindly received and conveyed them to the harbour of Passages.*

Sir Humphrey having sailed in the little bark called the Squirrel, with the view of more closely surveying the shore, had escaped this catastrophe. The news struck him indeed with the deepest dismay; yet he was reluctant to abandon the design, till the seamen, representing the miserable extremity to which they were reduced, urged the necessity of returning to Europe "before they all perished." The crew of the Golden Hind, though too distant for speech, pointing to their mouths and ragged clothes, strongly enforced the argument. He felt that no choice was left, yet bitterly lamented the loss of his vessel, his men, his books and papers; and it was surmised that hopes, though fallacious, of having discovered gold, mingled in his regret. He expressed an unshaken determination to prosecute his career of discovery; declaring that though his whole fortune was sunk, he would make such representations to the queen, as would induce her to advance the means of equipping a still larger expedition.

Arrangements being now made for crossing the At-

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 155-157, 164, 165.

lantic, Sir Humphrey was urged to quit the petty bark in which he had been sailing, as very unfit for such a voyage, and go on board the Golden Hind. But in reply, he resolutely declared "I will not forsake my little company, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils." Hayes suspects that he was influenced by some idle rumours that had gone abroad, as if he wanted courage at sea; and that he "preferred the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life." The vessels, however, sailed in safety three hundred leagues, till they reached the meridian of the Azores. A storm so violent then overtook them, that men who had spent all their lives afloat had never seen the like. The waves, it is said, broke "short and high, pyramid-wise," owing, it is added, to their being moved by conflicting tides and currents. In the afternoon of 9th September, the Squirrel was seen in extreme peril amid these terrible billows; yet as she approached the Hind, the sailors observed Gilbert sitting with a book in his hand, and heard him call to them, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." Darkness fell, the storm still raged, and lights having been put up, the crew of his consort kept their eyes fixed on them as the signals of mutual safety. A little past midnight, the light in Sir Humphrey's vessel suddenly disappeared; and neither he nor his companions were ever heard of more. The Golden Hind, almost a wreck, returned, the sole remains of that gay and flourishing armament which had so lately set forth to occupy and rule the northern regions of the new world.*

Such an issue could not fail to throw a damp even on the intrepid spirit of that age; and yet the project was by no means renounced. Sir George Peckham, who had liberally contributed to the first voyage, recommended the enterprise as strongly as ever, and wrote a long treatise on western planting, by which he endeavoured to stimulate the nation to a fresh effort. In 1583,

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 155-159.

Captain Christopher Carlile addressed a memorial on the subject to the Muscovy Company, who appointed a committee to confer with him; and a plan was agreed upon, but seems never to have been carried into execution. Raleigh, who soon became the guiding star in discovery, turned his whole attention to more southern and brighter regions, and the bleak shores of North America were for a long time almost entirely disregarded.

The French had early directed their attention to this coast, and distinguished themselves by the voyages of Verazzano, Cartier, Roberval, and La Roche. These, however, had proved ultimately abortive, and were even in several cases attended with signal disaster; but that people were now about to undertake one on a larger scale, and leading to more durable results. As this, however, paved the way towards the formation of the colony of Nova Scotia, we will reserve it to the next chapter, which treats of that important subject.

CHAPTER V.

General Description and History of Nova Scotia.

Extent and Limits—Mountains—Streams—Soil—Climate—First Settlement by De Monts—Captured by the English—Colony under Sir William Alexander—Ceded to France—Contests among the Proprietors—Conquered by the New Englanders—Wars with the Indians—Cape Breton captured—Restored—Settlement of Halifax—Disputes with France—War—Expulsion of the Acadians—Capture of Louisbourg—Return of the Acadians—Representative Assembly—Peace with the Indians—Nova Scotia during the American Contest—Increased by numerous Refugees—Subsequent Events.

Nova Scotia, according to its present limits, forms a large peninsula, in advance as it were of that long line of the American coast which extends south-west from the mouth of the St Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. It is separated from the continent by the Bay of Fundy and its branch of Chignecto, stretching north-east from the Atlantic to within a short space of the Baie Verte, or Green Bay, connected with the Gulf of St Lawrence. The narrow interval of eight miles between these two bodies of water forms the isthmus by which alone this country is united with the main body of America. On the other side is New Brunswick, once part of the same province; while opposite to its south-western extremity lies a portion of Maine, the most northerly of the United States. On the north-east, it borders on channels connected with the Gulf of St Lawrence, such as Northumberland Strait, St George Bay, and the Gut of Canseau. All the remainder of the coast is washed by the Atlantic.

Nova Scotia, thus bounded, lies between 61° and 66° 30′ west longitude, and 43° 25′ and 46° north latitude.

It extends in an oblique line from north-east to south-west; the extreme length in this direction being estimated by M. Bouchette at 383 miles. The breadth varies considerably, being in the north-eastern part only thirty or forty miles. It then shoots out rapidly, and at the peninsula, which forms the vertex of a species of triangle, exceeds 100. But this dimension is maintained only for a short space; and the remainder, between the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic, does not average above sixty. The entire superficies is stated by Mr Haliburton at 15,617 square miles, or 9,994,880 acres.*

The surface of the country is broken and of various aspect, but nowhere approaches to an alpine elevation. There are several ranges, indeed, which, in the language of the country, are called mountains; but as the highest does not exceed 600 feet, they cannot rank above mere hills. Ardoise, the most elevated, not far from Windsor, commands a prospect which Mr M'Gregor considers to be, in all British America, surpassed only by that from Quebec. The ranges run generally in the direction of the country, from north-east to south-west. The ridge called the North Mountain extends, at a small distance, along the Bay of Fundy, terminating in the bold cliff of Blomidon, which overlooks the Basin of Minas. In the interior, between it and the Atlantic, stretches a less-known series, called the Blue Mountains. Those named Horton are on the eastern side of the Minas Basin, while the Cobequid heights lie near the frontier peninsula. These eminences, where they face the Atlantic, have been broken by its waves into the most rugged forms; high cliffs and long ledges, composed chiefly of granite and other primitive rocks. The coast also is scooped out into numberless coves and bays, and diversified by myriads of rocky islets. It is therefore completely iron-bound, and has conveyed that impression of barrenness and desolation which has so generally attached to this

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 1. Haliburton's Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia (2 vols 8vo, Halifax, 1829), vol. ii. pp. 2, 3.

country. Yet its highest cliff, Aspotagoen, about thirty miles south-west of Halifax, does not rise above 500 feet; so that the scenery cannot be called sublime, still less smiling and beautiful; but it is strikingly wild, picturesque, and romantic. A more solid advantage is obtained from the deep water and shelter almost every where afforded by the rocky shores and islands; so that a vessel may lie in perfect safety while the most violent tempest is raging without. The numerous indentations along this frontier afford also many spacious harbours, which can scarcely be equalled in the world. The north-eastern coast, along the gulf, is much smoother, while the interior is only gently undulating, and very fertile.*

The numerous streams descending from these various ranges render Nova Scotia one of the best watered regions on the face of the earth. Though, from the form of the country, they cannot have a very long course, yet being full of water, and containing generally bays and inlets, they are commonly navigable, even for large vessels, a considerable way upwards. They have usually, too, on their borders a strip of fertile land, which relieves the monotony even of the most barren districts. In many cases they spread into lakes, but seldom of very large extent. That of Rossignol, however, in the centre of the south-west district, is supposed to be nearly thirty miles long, and the Great Lake, on the Shubenacadie navigation, may be about ten. These waters, surrounded by hills of varied form, clothed with wood to their summit, present many scenes of extreme beauty, which surprise those who expected to find in this province only a gloomy waste.†

The capacity of the land for agricultural pursuits varies according to the different situations. The whole Atlantic coast is generally barren, as, besides the naked cliffs front-

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4, 95. Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 7. Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4. Moorsom's Letters from Nova Scotia (London, 1830), p. 19.

† Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8. Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 7. Moorsom, p. 18.

ing the sea, the ground for a considerable distance inland is strewed with stones, beneath which indeed in many cases good soil is to be found; but the clearing of them is much too hard a task for a young settlement. There are, however, occasional exceptions, particularly near Lunenburg, and in the narrow alluvial tracts, on the banks of the rivers, which are exceedingly productive. The ranges of hills, even when their summits are richly wooded, have not unfrequently their lower declivities covered with an accumulation of loose sand and debris, which renders them altogether unfit for the purposes of cultivation. There are also several peat-bogs, from one of which, called the Cariboo, the Horton and Annapolis rivers take their rise. With these deductions, the western part of the country, along the Bay of Fundy and its branches, and the northern, which bounds the Gulf of St Lawrence, two divisions comprehending the larger portion of Nova Scotia, possess a very considerable degree of fertility.*

The climate of this territory, in point of temperature, corresponds generally with that of Lower Canada, modified, however, by its maritime situation. From this cause, the frost of winter, though equally strong, has not the same fixed and long duration. It does not fully set in till about the 20th December, and even in January a decided thaw frequently occurs. Mr Haliburton does not reckon on more than six or eight weeks of sleighing in the season. By the end of March, the severity of winter ends, but is ill exchanged for a succession of chill damp winds, caused apparently by the dissolution of large fields of ice in the northern seas. The real spring approaches tardily and irregularly, and May ends before the fields are fully clothed with verdure. A summer of three months is then marked by that intense heat which prevails over all America. It has often, from the vicinity of the ocean, and

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8. Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 6. Moorsom, pp. 19, 20.

perhaps of its melting ices, the disagreeable accompaniment of heavy fog, which, in this heated state, seems to steep the inhabitants in a vapour bath. It is felt, however, only on the coast, and to a certain distance inland, not reaching the interior or the Bay of Fundy. It only occurs, too, when the wind blows from the sea; for the land-breezes produce a bright and clear sky. As in the other Atlantic states, with a vast continent on one side, and on the other an ocean equally extensive, a shifting wind occasions here also very sudden changes of temperature. Captain Moorsom has known the variation amount to fifty degrees in twenty-four hours, and was assured that it has been observed as high as sixty-two. According to this writer, "in summer the winds from north to west are accompanied by fine, clear, bracing weather; while any thing from south to east brings fog or rain. The wind from west to south produces pleasant yet variable or showery weather; and from north to east we expect only that which is raw and disagreeable. In winter, the north-west quadrant becomes identified with a clear dry atmosphere and intense cold; the south-east with rapid thaw and floods of rain. The south-west is marked by moderate frost and slight thaws; and the north-east winds come charged with cold raw mist, or heavy snow storms." These different results seem sufficiently accounted for by the position of the province in respect to land and sea.*

The autumn in this climate is long and delightful,—commencing at the close of August, and often not ending till the middle of December. The latter portion is rendered agreeable by the prevalence for days and even weeks of that soft transparent haze called the Indian summer. The nights at the hottest season are cool and refreshing, so that the open air may then be fully enjoyed; and the aurora borealis and other aerial meteors are common, though not so brilliant as in arctic latitudes.

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 348-352. Moorsom, pp. 152, 153, 161-168.

The violent extremes and changes incident to this climate might be supposed hurtful to the human constitution; yet it is extolled as in an eminent degree salubrious. The very agitations seem to prevent those fatal diseases which arise from a putrid and stagnant atmosphere. The intermittent fever, so frequent in the United States and even Upper Canada, is unknown; typhus is rare and slight; and the ravages of the yellow fever have never been felt. Rheumatism and local inflammation are the maladies from which the people suffer most severely; to which may be added pulmonary consumption, though not to the extent that might be supposed. The depth of winter is of course a trying season; yet the sick-list of the 52d regiment is stated by Captain Moorsom to have stood lower than in the summer months. The general healthiness is said to be proved by the longevity of the people, among whom the age of ninety is not uncommon, and many even pass that of a hundred.*

Although the early attempts of the French to settle upon this coast were, as already observed, fruitless and even calamitous, yet the value of the land and the profitable trade of which it might be made the theatre, had not escaped the notice of the nation in general. That people, and particularly the Huguenots, were then inspired with a strong spirit of commercial enterprise. In return for a few showy but trifling articles, they obtained from the savages precious furs, seal-skins, and the teeth of the sea-horse, commodities at that period scarce and highly prized in the European market. Even the fisheries had already risen into importance; and an old mariner, named Scavalet, is mentioned as having, previous to 1609, made forty voyages to Canseau.

In 1603 a spirited attempt, on a considerable scale, was made by a gentleman named De Monts. He obtained from Henry IV. unlimited privileges, such as were then always lavished upon individuals willing to engage in

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 352-356. Moorsom, pp. 154, 155.

such arduous undertakings; including not only the dominion of the colony, but the monopoly of the fur-trade throughout its whole extent. De Monts had sailed as a volunteer up the St Lawrence along with Chauvin, but not having gone higher than Tadoussac, he knew nothing of the fine territory afterwards discovered on that great river. The Atlantic coast appeared to him less difficult of access, and from its more southerly situation likely to enjoy a milder climate. He stipulated for all the country lying between the 40th and 46th degrees of latitude, thus embracing Nova Scotia on the north, and New York on the south. Though a Calvinist, he was obliged to engage that both professions should be tolerated among the settlers, and that the Catholic alone should be taught to the Indians. A liberal expenditure and the enterprising spirit of the age enabled him speedily to equip four vessels, two of which were commanded by himself, while the others were employed, at different points, in conducting his own trade and preventing that of others.*

The vicinity to France, and his ignorance of the more southern coasts, led him to touch in the first instance at Nova Scotia, which he reached on the 16th May 1604. At a point near its southern extremity, he found a French captain named Rossignol engaged in trade; and forthwith exercised his privileges, by confiscating the vessel and cargo, allowing to the seaman only the consolation of giving his name to the place, now changed to Liverpool. Thence he proceeded to the head of the Bay of Fundy, making a fruitless attempt to penetrate through it into the St Lawrence. At one point where he stopped for a short interval, the crew were much dismayed to find, on re-embarking, that Daubré, a clergyman of good family, was wanting. They continued here some time, vainly making calls and signals, and then proceeded. On returning, however, sixteen days after, a hat and handkerchief were seen fastened to a pole; and a

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 9-13. Champlain, tome i. pp. 55, 56.

party having landed, the unfortunate priest was found. He had lost himself in the woods, and being obliged to subsist on roots and berries, was reduced almost to a skeleton. As the season advanced, they fixed their settlement on an island near the mouth of the river St Croix. They cultivated a piece of ground, erected a fort with neat apartments, a commodious magazine, and a chapel in the form of a bower, composed of growing trees bent together. But winter soon set in with a severity for which they were quite unprepared. They had not sufficient wood for fuel; and being under the necessity of drinking melted snow and living on salted provisions, were attacked by scurvy in its most virulent form, for which they knew no remedy.

At the end of this dreadful season, De Monts sailed southward in search of a milder climate. He reached Cape Cod; but the territory was found inhabited by numerous bands of hostile natives, who were too strong for his small party. He returned to St Croix, and havin obtained a seasonable reinforcement, removed to a spot on the Bay of Fundy, which when formerly passed had appeared very desirable, and was named Port Royal. The whole country, including New Brunswick, was called Acadia. He himself repaired to France for farther supplies; but his people, having raised grain and vegetables, and procured abundance of venison, either by hunting or purchase from the savages, contrived to pass two winters very agreeably. During the mild season they renewed their attempts to settle farther south; but these were fruitless, and even attended with loss.*

In the following summer, while the party were anxiously waiting the arrival of their chief with the promised reinforcements, they were appalled by the intelligence that his connexion with America had ceased. All the merchants concerned in the fur-trade and fishery had joined in complaining, that his privilege was exercised with such violence as to put an entire stop to both occupa-

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 14-26.

tions ; that they and their families were ruined ; and that all the revenue derived from these sources was lost to the country. The court hereupon arbitrarily annulled the privilege which they had so rashly granted ; and in compensation for the 100,000 livres spent by De Monts, only 6000, or about £250, was allowed. Even this was too large a sum for the French treasury to pay. He was merely empowered to levy it from the fur-traders ; an expedient, says Champlain, which " was like giving him the sea to drink." The attempt to enforce such a tax, besides the trouble and odium, would have involved him in expense exceeding any probable income. Though there seems ground to suspect, even from the statements of his own friends, that he carried too far his excessive and pernicious privilege, yet such an abrupt deprivation can scarcely be justified.

Notwithstanding the consternation diffused by this intelligence, Pontrincourt, one of the party, much attached to Port Royal, determined if possible to maintain that settlement. He repaired to France, represented its advantages, and obtained a grant of it ; on condition, however, that he should attend to the conversion of the natives, and receive two Jesuits as part of his establishment. Deeply impressed with the belief, that if those persons accompanied him he would hold only half the jurisdiction, he delayed receiving them under various pretexts ; and when this could no longer be resisted, he is reported to have said, that they must leave him entirely to rule the people on earth, and merely guide them to heaven. As they showed dissatisfaction with this limited function, and were otherwise somewhat roughly treated, they sent home loud complaints. A pious lady, Madame de Gourcherville, was then induced to fit out a vessel with every thing requisite for forming under them a separate colony, which was established on the eastern coast, at La Have. But while this settlement was in progress, Argall, an English captain, on his way to Virginia, having received notice of it, appeared before the place, and, after a short conflict, in

which one of the priests was killed, captured it, and carried off most of the inhabitants to James Town. Afraid to acknowledge such a flagrant breach of the peace with France, he pretended that they were pirates; but when the governor expressed his determination to hang them as such, Argall, to avert this catastrophe, owned the real state of the case. The English ruler was so far from being dissatisfied, that he immediately sent the captain with a fresh expedition to root out the colony at Port Royal. That officer arrived and effected his object without resistance; the settlers either fleeing into the woods, or being carried away prisoners. So little were colonies then valued, that France made no complaint of this violent aggression, beyond demanding the restoration of her men; nor did Britain take any measures for turning her conquest to account.*

From this time, however, the crown of England held itself owner of this territory, and neglected it only from the little value then attached to colonies not containing gold and silver. But in 1621, the poetical brain of Sir William Alexander, author of several works that were noted in that age was struck with a desire of transatlantic dominion; and at that period little solicitation was requisite to obtain the gift of a kingdom in America. Being a favourite of James I. and Charles I., and created successively Sir William and Earl of Stirling, he received a free grant of the vast territory extending from the St Croix to the St Lawrence, including Nova Scotia, (which name was now first given to the whole region) New Brunswick, and even the islands in the gulf, as far as Newfoundland. He was invested with the usual extravagant and even regal powers, uniting the functions of Lieutenant-general, Justice-general, and High Lord of Admiralty, and having power to form a constitution, create titles of honour, appoint bishops, judges, and all other officers. No reservation was made, except of a tenth of the royal mines of gold and silver,

* Champlain, tome i. pp. 58, 59. Haliburton, vol. i. p. 28-39.

and five per cent. on the imports and exports, after the first seven years.* Charles I., in 1625, gave a *novodamus*, or renewal of this patent,† to which he added, in 1628, a similar one, whereby he made over the whole course of the St Lawrence, as far as the Gulf of California, on which the upper lakes were then supposed to border; a grant which would have included all Canada, and much of the finest part of the United States.‡ To promote these objects, an order of baronets was created, each of whom was to hold jurisdiction over a tract, extending three miles along the coast, and ten towards the interior, and to receive in full property 16,000 acres of land. In return, each was bound to fit out six men for the colony, or to pay 2000 merks. By a singular regulation they were allowed to take seisin or legal possession, not on the spot, but on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, Nova Scotia being included in the county of that name.§

This extensive jurisdiction conferred on Sir William was ridiculed by some of his witty companions, who derided his attempt to rise from a poet to a king, and, like another Alexander, seeking a new world to reign over. He appears never to have visited his dominions in person, though he lost no time in sending out a vessel with a body of settlers. They sailed in 1622; but in consequence of various delays, the navigators could not, in the first year, proceed beyond Newfoundland, where they were obliged to winter. Next spring they coasted along the ceded territory, but were much disappointed to find all its principal points, including even Port Royal, re-occupied by French settlers, who showed no inclination to withdraw. It was judged expedient to return to England, where they spread the most flattering reports of the value and beauty of this transatlantic region. When, therefore, war soon

* Narrative of oppressive Proceedings against the Earl of Stirling, by Himself (4to, Edinburgh, 1636), p. 53-57.
† Ibid. p. 75. ‡ Ibid. p. 125-131.
§ Case of the Honourable the Baronets of Scotland and Nova Scotia, pp. 10, 27.

after broke out with France, Sir William found no difficulty in fitting out a small squadron, which he sent in 1627 under his eldest son, accompanied by Kertk, already mentioned as a refugee who became distinguished under the name of Sir David Kirk. In that and the following year, they reduced the forts of Port Royal, St Croix, and Pentagoet. At the former place they erected a new fortress on a considerable scale, where young Alexander took up his residence as governor of the country.*

One of the prisoners in the captured transports was Claude de la Tour, a gentleman of fortune and enterprise, who held part of the country from the French crown. Being brought to England, and introduced to Sir William, he was persuaded to second the baronet's views by making him master of that portion of the coast held by himself, and introducing there a party of Scottish emigrants; but on reaching the fort held by his son, near Cape Sable, the youth indignantly refused to concur in an arrangement which he accounted treasonable. He even repulsed his father in an attempt to carry the place, and offered him only an asylum in its immediate vicinity. La Tour, however, returned to Britain, and not long after procured from Lord Stirling an engagement to cede to him Cape Sable, with a considerable extent of coast and territory adjoining.†

Young Alexander died in America, and was succeeded by Sir George Home. In 1629, Kirk, as already related, made the conquest of Canada, reducing Quebec, and taking the garrison prisoners. Britain was now mistress of all this part of the country; yet by the treaty of St Germains in 1632, Charles I., without much consideration, agreed to restore all the settlements there in

* Deuchar, Alexander (Genealogist, Edin.), MS. Memorial (from the Stirling family papers).

† This has in general been represented as the entire cession of Nova Scotia, with the exception of Port Royal, but erroneously. The indenture, dated 30th April 1630, is in the possession of Mr Deuchar, but the transaction is said never to have been completed. —Deuchar, Alexander, MS. Memorial. Haliburton, p. 43-46.

the same state as before the war. Orders were sent to Home to demolish the fort; to remove all the inhabitants, goods, and stores; and leave the bounds altogether waste and unpeopled, as when the Scots first landed. The sum of £10,000 was granted to Lord Stirling in compensation for the expenses incurred by him. His patent was acknowledged to be still in force, as the king pretended that he had only ceded the particular spots, and retained his full right to form settlements in the country. He even appointed a commission to consult with his lordship and the baronets on the means of promoting such an undertaking. France would probably have viewed the subject in a different light; but, as may be well supposed, these persons did not feel inclined to adventure either themselves or their money again in a similar enterprise.*

The court of Paris having regained possession of this territory, divided it in 1634 among three individuals. They assigned most of the middle districts to the young La Tour, the father apparently being dead; the northern part to a person named Denys; and the southern to Razillai, who received a commission as commander-in-chief of Acadia. This last was succeeded by Daubré de Charnisé, between whom and La Tour there arose a deadly feud, each seeking the entire possession of the colony. The contest was waged with savage and relentless animosity, and with little regard to the authority of the mother-country. La Tour for some time procured aid from Boston, which gave him the ascendency; but Charnisé intimidated the governor of that place by threatening the resentment of the king his master. The opposite cause was then chiefly supported by the exertions of Madame de la Tour, a female of heroic temper. Being attacked during her husband's absence in his principal fort on the St John, she beat

* Case of the Baronets, pp. 28, 32-34. Claims founded on the above grants and transactions are at present strongly urged both by the Baronets and heirs of the house of Stirling; but into this question our subject does not require us to enter.

off the assailant with great loss. But Charnisé, watching his opportunity, surprised her soon after when she was again left alone and had only a handful of men to defend the place. She was obliged to surrender, when the victor faithlessly hanged all the garrison, and, as is reported, compelled herself to appear in public with a halter round her neck. Such barbarous treatment, coupled with the ruin of her affairs, so affected this high-spirited woman, that she died after a short interval.

La Tour, stripped of every thing, returned after some time to France, where he retrieved his affairs in a very singular manner. Charnisé being dead, he married the widow of his deadly enemy. His sister-in-law, too, a canoness of St Omer, dying about the same time, bequeathed to him all the claims of the family to this foreign possession. The bequest being sanctioned by the government, he set out and took peaceable possession of the whole country, with the exception of the small portion held by Denys, whom he did not disturb. He was doomed, however, never to remain at rest. Le Borgne, a new character, appeared on the scene, claiming as a creditor of Charnisé, and stigmatizing La Tour as a favourer of heresy. Having thus obtained a transference of all his rights, he arrived with an armed force, and in the most violent manner endeavoured to crush at once both the present possessors. He took Denys prisoner, destroyed La Have, burning a chapel which had cost above £4000; and having occupied Port Royal, was preparing to attack La Tour in his last hold on the St John, when a more formidable competitor presented himself.*

Oliver Cromwell having seized the reins of power in England, declared war against France, and waged it vigorously, with the special view of extending his foreign possessions. In 1654 he despatched an expedition against Nova Scotia, under the command of Major Sedgewick. There was no force, even had it been united, sufficient to resist that officer; so that, after defeating La Tour,

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 51-60.

he advanced against Port Royal, where Le Borgne by no means made that resistance which had been expected from his previous resolution. He soon yielded the place, and his son, endeavouring to fortify himself at La Have, was made prisoner.

La Tour, who always accommodated himself to circumstances, seeing the country in possession of the English, hastened to make his submission, and urged his claim, founded on the transaction between his father and Lord Stirling. He was favourably listened to; and in conjunction with Temple, afterwards Sir Thomas, and William Crowne, persons probably of great interest with the Protector, obtained a grant of the greater part of the country. The former bought up the share of La Tour, spent £16,000 on fortifications, and opened a very advantageous trade and fishery. But all his prospects were blasted by the treaty of Breda, concluded by Charles II. in 1667, in virtue of which Nova Scotia was again made over to France. Temple endeavoured to save something by insisting on a distinction between the limits of Nova Scotia and of Acadia; but not being supported by his government, he was obliged to deliver up all.*

The French thus resumed full possession of the colony, which, in fact, they had almost exclusively occupied, though in a slight and careless manner; for the absence of gold and silver, and even of any rich marketable produce, made it be viewed as a barren and unpromising settlement. A few straggling immigrants stationed themselves from time to time along the coast; and yet, according to an enumeration made about 1680, the whole population did not exceed 900. Even the fishery, the only productive branch, was carried on by the English. A few forts were scattered at wide intervals; but so weak and small, that two of them were taken and plundered by a single piratical vessel of no great force.

In this situation, after the breaking out of the war

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 61-65.

consequent upon the Revolution of 1688, Acadia appeared an easy conquest. The achievement was assigned to Massachusetts, the resources of which were by no means ample; but the commander, Sir William Phipps, contrived to equip an expedition of 700 men. On the 20th May 1690, he appeared before Port Royal. It soon surrendered, on advantageous terms, which Phipps, discovering that the place was weaker than he had supposed, did not faithfully observe. He merely dismantled the fortress, and left the country a prey to pirates, by whom it was unmercifully ravaged. The Chevalier Villabon, therefore, who arrived soon after from France, reconquered it by simply pulling down the English and hoisting the French flag. The neighbouring Indians, always partial to his countrymen, were easily induced to join them against the enemy, and aided in capturing the strong frontier fortress of Pemaquid, where these savage warriors were guilty of some of their usual acts of cruelty. The Bostonians, thus roused, sent a body of 500 men under Colonel Church, who soon regained the country, with the exception of one fort on the St John. He then called on the Acadians to join him against the Indians, their former allies, and on their refusal, plundered and burned many of their habitations. The situation of these colonists, while passing continually from hand to hand, was truly lamentable. They were naturally and strongly attached to France, their native country; yet the English, after the most slight and partial conquest, claimed of them all the duties of British subjects, and, on failure, inflicted the wonted penalties of rebellion. No attempts were made to wrest the province out of the hands of Britain till the treaty of Ryswick in 1696, when William, having secured his most essential objects, followed the usual policy of allowing the French to resume this distant and little valued possession.*

This peace was speedily succeeded in 1702 by the memorable war of the Spanish Succession under Queen

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 66-78.

Anne. That contest, distinguished in Europe by the victories of Marlborough and other splendid events, was also marked by an increased importance attached to colonial acquisitions; while the settlers in North America seemed to feel even more deeply than their countrymen at home the animosity which divided the two nations. The ignorant and extravagant grants made by each party were found, as discovery extended, more and more to clash with each other, and afforded constant pretexts for hostility. The reduction of Nova Scotia was again left to Massachusetts; and she was encouraged to undertake it by the assurance, that what should be gained by arms would not again be sacrificed by treaty. The first expedition, which consisted of 550 men, was despatched in 1704 under Colonel Church, who found little resistance while committing ravages which did honour neither to himself nor his country. Three years afterwards, a force of 1000 soldiers was sent to complete the conquest of the country; but Subercase, the French commandant at Port Royal, conducted the defence of that place with such spirit and ability, that the assailants were twice obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss.

The determination of the New Englanders, however, could not be shaken. After two years spent in preparation, they assembled a much larger force, consisting of five regiments, four of them levied in the colony. It was placed under the command of General Nicholson, who arrived at Port Royal on the 24th September 1710, when Subercase, with a garrison of only 260, declining to attempt a vain resistance, obtained an honourable capitulation. The troops marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed to France. The deed of surrender, signed on the 2d October, forms the era when, after so many vicissitudes, Nova Scotia was permanently annexed to the British crown.*

The intelligence of this disaster was received at Paris with a regret not before felt on similar occasions; it

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 83-87.

being clearly foreseen, that if the country could not be reconquered by force of arms, there was no hope of regaining it by treaty. Yet the urgent state of affairs in Europe rendered it impossible to detach from that quarter any considerable expedition; and the governor of Canada was deterred from hostile operations by a threatened invasion of his own territory. Overtures were made to the merchants of Rochelle to equip an armament, which would be rewarded by large and profitable establishments on the coast; but they rightly judged that the expense of such an enterprise would be heavy, and the profit doubtful. The English, however, were considerably harassed by risings among the native French and Indians, down to the peace of Utrecht in 1713. Although that treaty did not fulfil all that was expected, it secured to Britain the full sovereignty of Nova Scotia, with the exception of Cape Breton and the other islands in the Gulf of St Lawrence.*

General Nicholson, who had conquered the country, was in 1714 appointed governor, and five years afterwards was succeeded by Colonel Phillips. The name of the capital was changed from Port Royal to Annapolis. But though the right of Britain to Nova Scotia was now fully acknowledged, she found it a possession not a little troublesome. Attempts were made to attract settlers both from England and the American colonies; but, owing to the rigour of the climate and the hostility of the two races by which it was peopled, only a few could be induced to remain in the country. The regular population at that period, of whom 4000 were males able to bear arms, consisted of Acadians of French descent, zealously attached to their native government, and in deep dismay at being transferred to another. They were, notwithstanding, treated with some share of liberality, being allowed either to leave the country or take the oath of allegiance. The former step, however, would, they found, involve the loss of all their property; while to the

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 89-92.

latter they showed the utmost reluctance. As all violent measures were prohibited, the discussion remained for some time in suspense. At length a considerable number took the oath, though with the avowed reservation of not being required to fight against their countrymen. They were not charged with any taxes, and were allowed still to trade with France and her dependencies. The fishery, however, was still chiefly carried on by the New Englanders.*

The country was inhabited by another race, who had an earlier and a stronger claim to it. The Indians were beyond measure astonished on being informed that they were subjects of the King of Great Britain, transferred to him by a treaty to which they were not parties. They were always, it is admitted, warmly attached to the French, while they regarded the English with deadly hostility; a circumstance which must give rise to painful suspicions respecting the conduct of our countrymen towards this unfortunate race. On their inquiring whether such an arrangement had really been made, the French commanders informed them that they had never been mentioned in the treaty, and consequently were considered an independent people; while the British maintained that they were as a matter of course made over along with the territory. The Indians set at nought this last conclusion, and carried on a long and desperate war, in which their rapid movements and skill in the arts of surprise enabled them to gain many advantages. In 1720 they plundered a large establishment at Canseau, carrying off fish and merchandise to the value of £20,000; and in 1723 they captured at the same place seventeen sail of vessels, with numerous prisoners. The British inhabitants of Nova Scotia were obliged to solicit the aid of Massachusetts, which in 1728 sent a body of troops against the chief Indian fort on the Kennebeck. It was stormed, the warriors pursued with great slaughter, and Rallé, their Catholic missionary, put to death, it is alleged,

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 92-97.

with circumstances of great cruelty. The savages were thus for some time overawed, though they only watched an opportunity of renewing hostilities.*

After an unusually long peace, the habitual enmity of the two nations broke out in a fresh war, declared by France in March 1744. Quesnel, governor of Cape Breton, immediately fitted out expeditions which took Canseau, and twice laid siege to Annapolis, but without success. These movements were condemned by the court as premature, and tending to endanger the safety of Louisbourg, which was then ill prepared for defence. That city, well situated for fishing though in a barren country, had been fortified by the French at an expense of £1,200,000, with a view to make it the bulwark of their possessions in North America. It was surrounded by a stone wall, two miles and a half in circuit, and by a ditch eighty feet wide. When, therefore, Shirley, governor of New England, proposed to the council the expediency of reducing it, the plan was at first rejected as visionary; though on reconsideration, it was carried by a single vote. Extraordinary zeal, corresponding to the magnitude of the enterprise, was employed in the preparation; and yet the force destined against this great fortress, garrisoned by regular troops, consisted entirely of militia and volunteers, hastily levied and led on by Colonel William Pepperal, a gentleman extensively engaged in commerce. Massachusetts furnished 3200 men, Connecticut 500, and New Hampshire 300. They were animated with a species of religious enthusiasm, as entering on an anti-papal war. Mr Whitefield, the celebrated methodist preacher, furnished a motto, and a chaplain carried on his shoulder a hatchet to demolish the images. The army embarked in a number of small vessels, and early in April 1745 arrived at Canseau. Here they were detained three weeks; but the French were so little on their guard, that they learned nothing of the presence of an enemy even when in their close vicinity. Applica-

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 101-106.

tion had been made to Commodore Warren, then on the West India station, for the assistance of the fleet; but to Shirley's great disappointment, he did not consider himself authorized to take such a step. This, however, was concealed from the troops; and on their arrival at Canseau, they were gratified to find the commodore, who, in consequence of subsequent instructions, had come to join them. On the 30th April the English came in view of Louisbourg, and being quite unexpected, easily effected a landing; they even took a battery, and turned the guns against the city. They had, nevertheless, to sustain during a fortnight the laborious task of drawing cannon through a morass, where they were up to the knees in mud, and exposed to the enemy's fire. It was the 28th May before the batteries could be completed, and active operations commenced; and such was the strength of the place, that the besiegers were repulsed in five successive attacks, in the last of which they lost 189 men. But the works were now considerably damaged, and Warren having captured the Vigilant, a line-of-battle ship, containing 560 men and supplies, Duchambon, the governor, lost courage, and capitulated on the 18th June. On viewing the strength of the fortress, the victors were perfectly astonished at their success; and the French commander excused himself on account of the mutinous disposition of his garrison. The achievement was highly creditable to a body of merchants and husbandmen, destitute of either skill or experience in military affairs. The reduction of the island of St John, now Prince Edward, soon followed, and by hoisting the French flag from the captured forts, the colonists decoyed into them a South Sea vessel and two East India ships, the cargoes of which were valued at £600,000.*

Extraordinary chagrin was felt by the court of Louis at a disaster for which they must have been little prepared. To retrieve it, an expedition was fitted out on so great a scale as to render the American seas for the

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 107-123.

first time the main theatre of war. It consisted of seventy ships, including eleven of the line, having on board upwards of 3000 disciplined troops. Being placed under the Duke d'Anville, an officer of great reputation, it was intended first to reduce Louisbourg, then Annapolis, next Boston, afterwards to range along the whole coast of North America, and finally to visit the West Indies. Early in the summer of 1746, the armament sailed from Brest, and passed unnoticed a British squadron placed to observe its motions. Admiral Lestocq left Portsmouth in pursuit, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and hence the colonies were left to depend on their own resources. Here, however, the good fortune of the French commander terminated. He had a most tedious and tempestuous passage, being ninety days in reaching Chebucto; and by that time four ships of the line were so shattered as to be obliged to return to Europe, while three, sent under Admiral Conflans by the West Indies, had touched at the point of rendezvous, but not finding the fleet, had also set sail homewards. D'Anville, overpowered, it should seem, by distress and disappointment, died suddenly; and Destournelle, the vice-admiral, in a few days became delirious, and ran himself through the body. In these calamitous circumstances, it was out of the question to attempt Louisbourg; but De la Jonquière, governor of Canada, having assumed the command, determined to proceed against Annapolis. In rounding Cape Sable, however, he had to sustain a fresh tempest, which so dispersed and injured the remaining ships of the fleet, that they instantly steered for Europe. Thus this mighty armament, which was expected to effect the conquest of all North America, was completely baffled, without striking a blow or meeting an enemy. The colonists regarded it as a special interposition of Providence, and celebrated the event by a general thanksgiving.

The French, however, were indefatigable. De la Jonquière was immediately sent out with thirty-eight sail; but having on his way encountered Admirals Anson and Warren, he was completely defeated, losing a ship of the

line and six richly laden East Indiamen which he had under convoy. The settlers then could not allow themselves to doubt, that in the treaty now negotiating, Cape Breton and Louisbourg, so important for the safety as well as compactness of their territory, would be secured to them. But the British ministry, with a view to preserve entire the possessions of their ally, the empress queen, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe, agreed to restore these conquests. However sound might be this policy in itself, its result could not fail to prove very mortifying to the American provincials, who had made the acquisition by so brilliant an exertion of courage and enterprise.*

Britain now began to pay more attention to Nova Scotia. Hitherto it had been quite a French country, peopled and cultivated throughout by that hostile nation. It was suggested, that of the large number of soldiers and sailors discharged in consequence of the peace, a part might with great advantage be located as agriculturists, and thereby provide the colony with an English population. This project was embraced with ardour by the Earl of Halifax, then President of the Board of Trade and Plantations. Fifty acres were allowed to every private, with ten additional for each member of his family. A higher allowance was granted to officers, in proportion to their rank, till it amounted to 600 for all above that of captain. By this encouragement, 3760 adventurers, with their families, were induced to embark in May 1749. They were landed, not at Annapolis, but at Chebucto, named henceforth Halifax, after the patron of the expedition. Though situated in a country less fertile and as yet wholly uncultivated, it was considered more favourable for trade and fishery; and as £40,000 had been voted for the transport of the settlers, they were conveyed in the most comfortable manner. Yet they could not avoid being somewhat appalled when, on their first arrival, they beheld a scene, grand and beautiful indeed,

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 127-134.

but consisting only of an unbroken immensity of forest, which it was incumbent on them to remove before their possessions could be of any value. The only inhabitants visible were small bands of savages, who glanced on them a jealous and hostile eye, and then fled into the interior. The Honourable Edward Cornwallis, who had been appointed governor, nevertheless inspired the settlers with a spirit of activity and emulation; planks and other materials were procured from New England; and before winter a neat wooden town with spacious and regular streets had been reared. The enforced idleness of that season was not a little dangerous to many of the immigrants. However, a strict police was established; the government was lodged in a council of six, who, uniting the executive with legislative and judicial functions, formed a somewhat arbitrary body; but there were scarcely materials as yet for any other. Parliament continued to support the colony by annual grants, which in 1755 had amounted to the enormous sum of £415,584.*

Although the settlers seemed thus firmly established, they soon found themselves in an uneasy and difficult position. The Indians made at first some friendly overtures; but the influence of their old allies is said to have soon determined them to resume a system of the most active hostility. The English, notwithstanding their military habits, were ill prepared to meet the desultory warfare of enemies who, stealing through the depth of swamps and thickets by paths which none but themselves could tread, appeared, struck the blow, and vanished. They even made attacks upon Halifax; and the colonists could not remove from that place singly or in small parties, for extending or improving their settlement, without imminent peril. When made captive, their fate was dreadful—scalping, torture, and death; or if spared, they were dragged by long marches through trackless forests, suffering intolerable hardships. Many were carried to Louisbourg, where they were purchased as an article

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 135-142.

of merchandise. The French professed themselves actuated solely by a wish to save them from the dreadful fate that otherwise awaited them; yet these tender feelings, it was observed, never prevented them from extorting most exorbitant ransoms. There is great reason to believe, that no means were employed to conciliate this unfortunate and injured race. It was determined to treat them, not as regular enemies, but as traitors and rebels; and that they might be rivalled in barbarity, a price was put upon Indian scalps.

Another circumstance which placed the colony in an uneasy situation, was the boundary contests with France. The government of Louis contended, that the British dominion extended only, as the name of Nova Scotia now does, over the peninsula separated from the continent by the Bays of Fundy and Chignecto; while, according to the English, it reached from the St Croix to the St Lawrence, and thus included all that large and fine country now named New Brunswick. As the question has been long since settled by conquest and treaty, it is needless to enter into the arguments adduced by both parties; but each at the time maintained them with the utmost pertinacity. The French, in support of theirs, sent detachments which, aided by strong bodies of Indians and a few Acadians, erected the fort of Beau Sejour on the neck of the peninsula, and another on the river St John. The governor hereupon sent Major Lawrence with a detachment of troops to dislodge them from the former position; but finding it too strong, he retired; and on his return with augmented force, was only able to drive in the outposts, and erect a counter-fort to keep the adversary in check. The court of St James's made loud complaints touching these encroachments; while that of Paris, unwilling as yet to commit itself in open hostility, dismissed a few English prisoners, and made a vague promise of sending instructions to the governor of New France to abstain from every offensive step. Hostile feelings, however, continued to ferment, and fresh causes of dissension arose, till, in April 1755, Admiral Bos-

cawen commenced the war by capturing several vessels on the coast of Newfoundland. Hostilities having thus begun, a force was immediately fitted out from New England, under Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, to dislodge the enemy from their newly erected forts. That officer landed on the 4th June, and having forced a strong intrenchment, invested Beau Sejour, which was carried by mere bombardment in four days, the garrison being allowed to retire to Louisbourg. He reduced with still greater ease another stronghold in which they had placed their chief magazine, and thence sent a squadron to the post on the St John, which was found abandoned.*

The campaign had thus opened with complete success; but in other quarters its events were much less auspicious. General Braddock having been sent at the head of a strong force to invade Canada, was defeated with the almost entire loss of his army. In Europe, too, the war began unfavourably; while the powerful reinforcements sent by the French to Louisbourg and other posts in America, gave much reason to apprehend an invasion of Nova Scotia, where they would find a friendly population, both European and Indian. These circumstances certainly placed the government there in a critical situation, and afforded a slight palliation of the inhuman step upon which they determined. The Acadians, as the French settlers were called, amounted at that period to 17,000 or 18,000. They had cultivated a considerable extent of land, possessed about 60,000 head of cattle, and lived in a state of simple plenty. They were a peaceful, industrious, and amiable race, almost exactly similar to the *habitans* of Canada, whom we have already described. They made no secret of the deep attachment which they still cherished for their native country, and had resisted every invitation to bear arms against it. A few individuals had joined the Indians, and about 300 were taken in the forts, all of whom, on account of alleviating circumstances, had ob-

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 142-168.

tained pardon. But these were only exceptions; the great body of the Acadians remained tranquilly occupied in the cultivation of their lands. Yet in a council held on the subject, Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, with Governor Lawrence, formed the ruthless determination to tear the whole of this people from their homes, and scatter them through the different provinces of America. Their lands, houses, and cattle, were, without any alleged crime, declared to be forfeited; and they were only allowed to carry with them their money and household furniture, both of extremely small amount. Treachery was necessary to render this tyrannical scheme effective. The natives of each district were commanded to meet at a certain place and day on urgent business, the nature of which was carefully concealed; and when they were all assembled, the dreadful mandate was pronounced, small parties of them only being allowed to return for a short time to make the necessary preparations. They appear to have listened to their doom with unexpected resignation, making only mournful and solemn appeals, which were wholly disregarded. When, however, the moment of embarkation arrived, the young men, who were placed in front, absolutely refused to move; and it required files of soldiers with fixed bayonets, to secure obedience. No arrangements had been made for their location elsewhere, nor was any compensation offered for the large property of which they were now deprived. They were merely thrown on the coast at different points, and compelled to trust to the charity of the inhabitants, who did not allow any of them to be absolutely starved. The Pennsylvanians had the modesty to propose that they should be provided for by being sold as slaves; but they made such loud and just remonstrances that this iniquity was not carried into effect. Still, through hardship, distress, and change of climate, a great proportion of them perished. So eager was their desire to return, that those sent to Georgia had set out, and actually reached New York, when they were arrested. They addressed a pathetic representation to the English

government, in which, quoting the most solemn treaties and declarations, they proved that their treatment had been as faithless as it was cruel. No attention, however, was paid to this document, which, we should be glad to believe, never reached Lord Chatham.

Notwithstanding the barbarous diligence with which this mandate was executed, it is not supposed that the number actually deported exceeded 7000. The rest fled into the depth of the forests, or to the nearest French settlements, enduring incredible hardships. To guard against the return of the hapless fugitives, the government reduced to ashes their habitations and property, laying waste even their own lands with a fury exceeding that of the most savage enemy. In one district, 263 houses were at once in a blaze. The Acadians, from the heart of the woods, beheld all they possessed consigned to destruction; yet they made no movement till the devastators wantonly set their chapel on fire. They then rushed forward in desperation, killed about thirty of the incendiaries, and then hastened back to their hiding place.*

We turn now to a more pleasing theme. The reverses sustained at the commencement of hostilities roused an extraordinary spirit in the nation. This was most fully seconded by William Pitt, who, elevated by the public voice to the helm of affairs, began in 1757 his splendid ministerial career. He immediately prepared to carry on the war with the utmost vigour; and as colonial rivalry between Britain and France was then at its height, North America became its main theatre. Early in 1757, an army of about 5000 men from England, and 6000 from New York, had been assembled at Halifax under Lord Loudoun, with a view to attack Louisbourg; but the accounts, seemingly exaggerated, of the great force assembled at that place, deterred him from making the attempt. The enemy meantime took advantage of this concentration of the English, to obtain possession of Lakes Champlain and George, and of all the country in their vicinity.

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 171-198.

Pitt, immediately on his accession to power, wrote circular letters to the colonies, urging them to the most vigorous exertion, and promising active co-operation from the mother-country. Early in the following year, Admiral Boscawen went out with a powerful fleet and an army under Major-general Amherst. The provincials also did their duty; and in May 1758 an armament of 150 sail and 14,000 troops were assembled at Halifax, whence they took their departure on the 28th of that month, and on the 2d June anchored near Louisbourg. That place was defended by nearly 3000 men, six ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were sunk at the mouth of the harbour, with the view of blocking up its entrance. Amherst had under him Generals Lawrence and Whitmore; but Wolfe, though in a subordinate station, was already selected as the man who was to undertake the most arduous services. While the two former made only a show of landing, the real attack in another quarter was intrusted to him. His troops were very much exposed; and the enemy, reserving their fire till the English were near the shore, opened on them a most tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry, which did great execution, and sunk a number of the boats. The soldiers, however, cheered and animated by their brave commander, pushed forward, gained the beach, and soon drove their antagonists before them. The stores and artillery were then landed; and the next object was to occupy a post whence the fortress could be most advantageously assailed. Wolfe, with 2000 men, attacked and quickly carried it; upon which strong batteries were immediately erected, and opened with powerful effect. Steady and regular approaches were now made, and the walls began to be seriously damaged. A striking accident at this crisis favoured the British. One of the largest of the enemy's ships blew up with a dreadful explosion; and the flame was speedily communicated to two others, which were in a short time completely reduced to ashes. Admiral Boscawen then employed a flotilla of boats with 600 men to enter the harbour, and

attack two ships of the line stationed there. This daring enterprise completely succeeded; one of the vessels was driven ashore and destroyed; the other was brought out in triumph, under the fire of the batteries. The loss in this gallant exploit was only sixteen killed and wounded. The French commander seeing the fleet annihilated, the harbour in possession of the assailants, and several breaches in the walls, considered it impossible to protract the defence. He proposed a capitulation, which was agreed to and signed on the 26th of July 1758, by which himself and his whole garrison surrendered as prisoners of war.*

Immediately after this success, a detachment of troops under Lieutenant-colonel Lord Rollo took possession of St John's Island; and above 4000 Acadians who were found there instantly proffered their submission. The succeeding campaign was directed entirely against Canada; and, by a brilliant union of skill and valour, it terminated, as already related, in the complete conquest of that country. Nova Scotia suffered nothing from the war farther than a groundless panic excited in 1761 by the landing and partial success of some French troops in Newfoundland. But so great was the alarm, that the government ordered the small remnant of the Acadians to be collected and shipped off for Massachusetts. The people of that colony, however, positively refused to incur any addition to the heavy expense already sustained through these unfortunate exiles; and the ships were obliged to convey them back to Halifax. On the 3d November 1762, the preliminary treaty was signed, and the definitive peace was concluded at Paris on the 10th February 1763. Although its terms did not in every respect satisfy the nation, yet in regard to North America, France was compelled to transfer to her victorious rival all her possessions on that continent.†

Meantime the best efforts of the government were used to extend the progress of cultivation and settlement,

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 202-206.
† Ibid. vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

though all they could do was insufficient to fill up the dreadful blank which they themselves had made. Even before the war, a very considerable body of Germans had been induced, through liberal promises from George II., to emigrate to Nova Scotia; and on their arrival at Halifax they were, to the number of 1453, transported to a place named from their country Lunenburg, where lands were assigned to them. Though, like the other colonists, they had long and severe contests with the Indians, in the course of some years they brought their establishment into a flourishing condition. As soon as the triumphant issue of the war in Canada admitted of the disbanding of a considerable part of the military force, the British ministry wished to locate them on the cultivated lands from which the Acadians had been expelled. Governor Lawrence, however, objected in the strongest terms to this plan, urging that it would be attended with great expense, and that they would form of all others the least steady and useful settlers. He thought it wiser to circulate proposals in the agricultural colonies, as well as the mother-country, offering 100 acres to every head of a family, with 50 additional to each of its other members. In return, they were only required, after the expiry of a certain period, to pay a quit-rent of 1s. per acre, and to enclose and bring under cultivation a third-part every ten years; so that the whole might be completed in thirty. Every protestant sect was allowed full liberty of conscience, with freedom from every tax for supporting the established church; but no license was given to papists. These offers were favourably received. Boston furnished 200 emigrants, Rhode Island 100, New London 100, and Plymouth 180; in all, 580. Ireland also sent 200; and from that country there came a continued succession of settlers, though the influx from New England was by no means supported at its original rate.

After the peace, the case of the Acadians naturally came under the view of government. Not the slightest advantage had been derived from their barbarous treat-

ment, as the country had never become the theatre of war; and there remained no longer a pretext for continuing the persecution. Yet Governor Wilmot had the inhumanity to propose, that they should be sent to the West Indies, where death probably would soon have freed their masters from any farther trouble. The administration at home, with a more equitable spirit, allowed them to return, and to receive lands on taking the customary oaths. This act of justice, however, was as imperfect as tardy; since they received neither the property of which they had been plundered, nor any compensation. Nevertheless, a considerable number did return; though in 1772 the whole body was found to be only 2100; and of these 800 belonging to Cape Breton were probably original settlers on that island or refugees to it. Thirteen hundred, then, were the poor remains of 17,000 or 18,000 who had composed this once flourishing colony; and yet, though left with nothing but their own industry, they have brought themselves into as thriving a state as before. The number of English inhabitants in that year was reported to the Board of Trade at 17,000, making in all 18,300. Before the war, however, the French alone were estimated at that amount, exclusive of the British population, who must have been 6000 or 7000; so that Nova Scotia had not yet recovered to the full extent the loss occasioned by the expulsion of so many of her people.*

It may be proper to mention, that some time before the taking of Louisbourg, Governor Lawrence had formed the resolution of granting to the colony the boon of a representative Assembly. The qualification was the possession of a freehold; the original number of members was twenty-two; but provision was made for admitting the smaller townships, and those to be afterwards erected. The House of Assembly, thus constituted, met at Halifax on the 2d October 1758, when certain complimentary speeches and addresses were exchanged between them

* Haliburton, vol. i. pp. 219-223, 234, 235, 243, 244, 250.

and the governor. Two measures suggested by him were, however, passed over without notice; one to provide for the expense of the local government; the other to confirm the previous legislative acts of the council, leaving room for addition and amendment. Disputes soon arose with that body as to the forms of procedure, which they insisted should not be servilely copied from the British Parliament, and not conducted in the French language. They then proceeded to the unwelcome measure of demanding a list of all fees received in the various departments of government. This was conceded in every instance, except those of the Admiralty, as being exacted under the sanction of the Board in England. The Assembly, however, voted this refusal to be a high contempt of their privileges, and expressed their belief that it arose from the interest which certain members of the council had in those fees, which they insisted were most exorbitant. But the executive authority did not yield. The Assembly also passed a bill disqualifying persons enjoying situations of emolument under government from sitting in either house; but this measure, aimed directly at the council, was negatived by them. Notwithstanding these dissensions, a considerable number of useful laws were passed by mutual consent.*

In 1761, the British placed themselves for the first time in amicable relations with the Indian tribes. A treaty was concluded with Argimault, chief of the Monguash, at the "great talk" leading to which, both the legislative bodies, as well as the magistrates and public officers, were present. The natives agreed finally to bury the hatchet, and to accept George III., instead of the king formerly owned by them, as their great father and friend. The president boasted of the lenity with which they had been treated; and, whatever may have formerly taken place, there was now a sincere desire to follow a conciliatory course. As complaints against the traders, by whom they seem to have been overreached,

* Haliburton, vol. i. pp. 209-218.

had formed the chief excitement to vindictive measures, government determined to take this traffic into their own hands. Officers were appointed for its management, and by agreement with the chiefs, prices were affixed to the different descriptions of furs. This arrangement, however, was liable to many objections, and has not been persevered in.*

Britain, with regard to her hold on that country, was placed in a critical situation during the long and arduous contest which issued in the independence of her older colonies. The apprehensions from this source, however, proved happily unfounded. The stamp act in 1765, and the tea-duties in 1767, were both submitted to without opposition. The circular letter of the Massachusetts Assembly in 1768 was sent to that of Nova Scotia, but, through the influence of the governor, no notice was taken of it. In 1770 a considerable ferment appears to have prevailed, since by a resolution of the public authorities, "town meetings for discussing questions relating to law and government" were declared illegal, and prosecutions threatened against such as should attend them. In 1775, when hostilities actually broke out, an unfortunate altercation arose between the governor and Assembly. The former, remarking on the inconvenience occasioned by the frequent absence of the members, proposed to obviate it by reducing the quorum from twelve to nine, and making four new ones for the town and county of Halifax; but the House indignantly repelled the suggestion as replete with mischief and subversive of real representation, since with a dependent council and the majority of such a quorum, his excellency would possess a power completely dictatorial. The measure was not persisted in, and the colony displayed on the whole a spirit decidedly loyal. A declaration of attachment to government and determination to defend it was numerously signed; several companies of militia were called into active service; and measures were

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 230-234.

taken to raise a complete regiment. To conciliate the Acadians, it was resolved to employ them uniformly as couriers, paying them at a liberal rate, and a small corps of them was embodied for the general defence. The United Americans, however, having apparently overrun the greater part of New Brunswick, attempted hostile operations against Nova Scotia, both by the peninsula and the St John; and in September 1775 they burned the fort at the mouth of that river. Next year they induced the Indians in the same quarter to agree to furnish 600 warriors; but Mr Michael Francklin prevailed on the latter to withdraw from this engagement, and to conclude a treaty of peace with England. In 1779 that people again assembled on the river in great numbers, and in a menacing attitude; but they were appeased by promises of presents; and this was the last threat of an Indian war.*

During the same period attempts were made against the fort of Cumberland, which commands the peninsula at the head of the basin of that name. The Americans were joined by some malecontents, and disaffection appears to have spread through the surrounding territories. The people in the districts of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, having been called upon to take the oath of allegiance, all refused except five, and their deputies were in consequence excluded from the House of Assembly. No serious rising, however, took place. Two whaleboats, despatched by the Americans in November 1777, carried off a valuable ship out of the harbour of Pictou; but they were beaten and the vessel retaken by Lieutenant Keppel.

For some time after the year 1772 the colony did not advance, but rather declined,—a circumstance which has been ascribed to unfortunate speculations in land. The population in 1781 was estimated not to exceed 12,000. The termination, however, in 1783, of the American war, separating from Britain all the more southern colonies,

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 48, 49. Haliburton, vol. i. p. 244-259.

produced a prodigious influx of refugees. The number who arrived prior to September was reckoned at 18,000, and 2000 more landed in the following month. Many of these new citizens possessed considerable property, as well as regular and industrious habits; so that they formed a most important acquisition. Several additional townships were erected; Shelburne, before almost entirely deserted, rapidly acquired upwards of 10,000 inhabitants; emigrants from Nantucket established a whale-fishery at Dartmouth; while saw and grist mills were established in various parts of the province. A considerable proportion of these settlers directed their course to the region beyond the peninsula, which, thereby acquiring a great increase of importance, was in 1784 erected into a distinct government under the title of New Brunswick. Cape Breton was also separated from Nova Scotia, where considerable dissatisfaction was felt at its jurisdiction being so much reduced. Still the population of the province, as stated by Governor Parr, in the year just mentioned, was 20,400; and in this very imperfect estimate, while Halifax was only rated at 1200, Lunenburg and Liverpool were altogether omitted; so that the whole number could scarcely have fallen short of 30,000.*

Nova Scotia, during the following years, presented few of those vicissitudes which afford materials for history; but she made continued advances under a succession of popular governors. In 1785 her increased importance was acknowledged by the establishment of a regular line of packets between Falmouth and Halifax. In 1787, on the recommendation of the government at home, the Assembly brought under review the means of diffusing education; and an academy, afterwards converted into a college, was founded and endowed at Windsor. The only serious cause of discontent appears to have been the conduct of the supreme judges, whom the Assembly, from 1788 to 1790, first complained of, and then

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 259-265. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 50.

impeached. Their measures, however, were opposed by the local council; and the matter, being finally referred to his majesty, seems to have ended without any practical result. The colonists appear to have been highly delighted by a visit in 1787 from his late majesty when an officer in the navy, and afterwards by the residence for some years in a military command of Prince Edward, duke of Kent, father to the reigning queen. The latter, on leaving the colony, was presented with a gratifying testimony of the esteem in which he was held.*

In 1792, Governor Parr, after being ten years in office, was succeeded by John Wentworth, created a baronet in 1795, and who gave equal satisfaction. The long war with France, which broke out in 1793, conferred much additional importance on the country, through the great value of Halifax as a naval station. Having become the rendezvous of the fleets employed in America, many rich prizes were brought into its port; and this favourable state of things was scarcely at all interrupted during the short interval of peace which followed the treaty of Amiens.

Nothing worth notice appears to have occurred till 1808, when Sir John Wentworth was succeeded by Sir George Prevost. This governor is considered as having done a good deal to improve the colony, by opening roads, encouraging industry, founding schools, and placing the militia on a better footing. In 1808-9, he was absent about five months assisting in the capture of Martinique. Being promoted in 1811 to the government of Canada, he was succeeded by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, also considered an able ruler.†

The war with the United States, which broke out in 1812, materially advanced the prosperity of Nova Scotia. Halifax, as a naval station, became more important than ever; numerous prizes were carried in, by the sale of which large fortunes were made. This, no doubt, was a

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 266-270. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 51.
† Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 271-289. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 52.

somewhat ephemeral source of wealth, and was followed by a severe reverse; yet the property thereby acquired was afterwards invested in more permanent objects. Scarcely any of the evils of war were felt, the government of Maine having expressed a wish to observe neutrality on the New Brunswick frontier, a proposal which was readily acceded to; so that though the militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, their services were not required. In August and September 1814 an expedition was sent against the American coast, which, without bloodshed, took the fort of Castine on the Penobscot, and reduced an extent of 100 miles along the sea border. All this, however, was restored at the peace.*

In December of the same year the war, with its temporary advantages to this country, was terminated by the treaty of Ghent. In 1816, Sir J. C. Sherbrooke was transferred to the government of Canada, when the legislature voted £1000 to present him with a sword. His place in Nova Scotia was filled by the Earl of Dalhousie, who proved also extremely popular. The foundation of the college bearing his name, and of a central board for the promotion of agriculture, distinguished his administration. Being in 1820 promoted to Quebec, his duties were confided to Sir James Kempt, under whose rule the people still considered themselves happy.† In 1828, he was, in the usual course of service, raised to the government of Canada, and his office filled by Sir Peregrine Maitland. That gentleman, after governing six years, was succeeded by Sir Colin Campbell, a distinguished companion in arms of the Duke of Wellington. Under these governors, the country has continued steadily to advance in wealth and prosperity.

Some discontents have lately been expressed as to the composition of the council; but the demands on this subject have been, to a great extent, complied with; and the people have displayed the most decided loyalty, on occasion of the late Canadian disturbances.

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* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 295. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 54, 88.
† Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 296, 299, 303.

CHAPTER VI.

Topographical Description of Nova Scotia.

General Divisions—Country on the Atlantic—District of Halifax—City—Dartmouth—Northern Part of Halifax District—South-western—Lunenburg—La Have—Queen's County—Liverpool—Shelburne—Argyle and Yarmouth—Territory on the Bay of Fundy—Annapolis County—The Acadians—Digby—Annapolis Township—Bridgetown—Basin of Minas—King's County—Hants—Windsor—District of Colchester—Truro—Bay of Chignecto—Minudie—Country on Northumberland Strait and the Gut of Canseau—Cumberland County—Township of Wallace—Pictou District—Town—County of Sydney—Dorchester—Guysborough—CAPE BRETON—Extent and Situation—Appearance of the Country—Climate—Population—Coal District—Town of Sydney—Island of Scatari—Ruins of Louisbourg—Arichat—Port Hood—Cheticamp—Island of St Paul—Bay of St Anne—Bras d'Or—Settlements on its Coasts.

THE territory of Nova Scotia naturally divides itself into three grand portions, each possessing a distinctive and peculiar character, to which we shall adhere in preference to the more artificial divisions. These are, 1. The territory on the Atlantic; 2, That on the Bay of Fundy and its branches; and, 3, The north-eastern coast, watered by channels connected with the St Lawrence.

The country on the Atlantic consists of the district of Halifax, the counties of Lunenburg, Queen's, and Shelburne. Its general character, as already described, is broken, bleak, rocky, and naked, diversified only by a very few patches of rich ground very well cultivated. On the other hand, its happy position, projecting as it were from the rest of the continent, and its admirable harbours, afford advantages for fishery and foreign trade, scarcely equalled in that part of the world. These circumstances attracted, in the first instance, numerous

bodies of immigrants, though many of them, on experience of its ungrateful soil, have removed elsewhere. Still the facilities presented for trade and the pursuits of industry have bestowed upon it a metropolitan character, and supplied the inducements which have drawn thither one-half of the population.

Of this division the most important part is occupied by the district of Halifax. It forms the north-eastern portion of the coast, and exactly corresponds with its general character, going somewhat beyond the others in its sterility, in the excellence of its harbours, and the advantage of its situation. It has no considerable stream communicating with the interior; but this defect is supplied by a canal which, reaching from the capital to the river Shubenacadie falling into Cobequid Bay, thus forms a communication directly across the country, bringing into the town the produce of some of the finest tracts. The districts of Pictou and Colchester rank as part of the county just named; but, belonging in situation and description entirely to the second and third divisions, they will be noticed under these heads.

The city of Halifax, the capital of this country, and the third town in British America, is situated on one of the best of the fine harbours with which this coast abounds. A bay about sixteen miles deep, is narrowed near the middle by an island, above which it spreads into the broad expanse of the Bedford Basin, containing ten square miles, and capable of accommodating a thousand vessels of the largest size. This advantage, and its greater proximity to Europe, led as we have seen to the establishment there in 1749 of the first English colony. The disadvantages of soil were overlooked; and great efforts were employed to draw from it a supply at least of the first necessaries of life. The removal of the trees, however, served to expose the thin sprinkling of earth which covered the rocky surface. The attempt was for some time given up, and the place became dependent, even for hay, upon Massachusetts. Since that period, by bounties and other encouragements, the greater part of the land in the vicinity has been forced into cultivation.

The fine expanse of water, the high shores, and the remains of the original forests which crown every height, render the approach to Halifax very pleasing and picturesque. On closer observation, however, the barren sod and stunted trees are found to give a monotonous character to the scene.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, this town has enjoyed no small degree of prosperity. Its advance, it is true, has been chiefly in recent times, since in 1790, forty years after 5000 emigrants had settled in the district, it contained only 4000 individuals, inhabiting 700 houses. It experienced a great increase during the last war, when, as already mentioned, it became a principal naval and military station; all the prizes taken from the enemy being brought in and sold there, and a great contraband trade carried on. The peace, which withdrew these means of wealth, produced at first a serious reaction. The spirit of commercial enterprise, however, soon rallied; in 1817, it was declared a free port, and has since obtained the privilege of warehousing. Its merchants have been distinguished by so much steadiness and prudence, that in eight years there occurred only one bankruptcy. It has thus become an important depot, and has attracted to itself the greater part of the trade of Nova Scotia. The number of houses, which in 1817 was 1200, had increased in 1828 to 1580, containing a population of 14,439. In that year, the imports amounted to £733,000, while the exports were valued at £247,000; and there belonged to the place no fewer than seventy-three square-rigged vessels, and seventy-seven schooners. The manufactures are as yet on a small scale, and confined to articles of immediate consumption; consisting chiefly of soap, candles, leather, snuff, rum, gin, whisky, porter, and ale.

Halifax is built on the south-western side of the bay, and on the declivity of a hill rising from the sea to the height of about 250 feet. Wood is the prevailing material, there being, ten years ago, only eighteen public and fifty-five private buildings of stone; and of brick, not quite forty. Eight streets extend through the centre, crossed

Province Building and St Matthew's Kirk, Hollis Street, Halifax.

by fifteen others. The town, which is about two miles in length and half a mile in breadth, has been greatly improved in consequence of extensive conflagrations, which, consuming large portions of it, made way for better and more regular buildings. The streets are now generally spacious, the principal one well paved, and the others macadamized. The houses, indeed, are extremely unequal as to form and height; but many are handsome, even the wooden ones being often neatly finished and painted white. The Province Building, erected for the accommodation of the government offices, is generally described as the most splendid in all North America. This must of course be understood in a qualified sense, when compared especially with those in the United States. It appears, however, to be really an elegant structure; 140 feet long, 70 broad, and 42 in height, adorned with a colonnade of the Ionic order; and is constructed of fine brown freestone, carefully hewn and polished. Dalhousie College is a handsome edifice of the same material; though unfortunately not yet efficient as a seat of education. The Catholic chapel, likewise constructed of stone, is spacious and well built; the other places of worship, of which two belong to the church of England, two to the Presbyterians, and four to other denominations, aim at convenience rather than ornament. Along the shore are large and commodious wharfs, and an excellent dock-yard, covering fourteen acres, and forming the chief depot of naval stores in the British colonies.

The society of Halifax is described as more completely English than that of any other American town. The officers of government, the numerous body of military, and the great merchants connected with the mother-country, form so large a proportion as decidedly to establish this character. The British visiter at a convivial party almost forgets that he is not at home. The gentlemen are said to be uncommonly well educated and intelligent; the ladies handsome and agreeable. An intense interest is felt with regard to arrivals from Europe; and the naval and military officer is welcomed with a degree of hos-

pitality which, though attended with some danger to his steadiness, makes him usually prefer this to any other transatlantic station. On walking out into the street, however, a scene quite peculiar is presented. Tall lank husbandmen, with light blue jackets and trousers, straw hats, and Wellington boots, are seen driving wagons of hay from the neighbourhood. Troops of wretched negroes, the men and boys half naked, the women in tawdry colours, expose for sale wild fruits and brooms. An Acadian and his wife, in their neat national costume, traffic in the produce of their dairy. A few strange-looking beings, the aborigines of the land, loll basking in the sun; while others of the same class are indolently holding in their hands, as if for sale, baskets and trinkets worked with beads. These are contrasted by the brilliant naval and military uniforms, and the gay attire of the European fashionables. Instead of heavy wagons with powerful horses, goods are conveyed on a machine called a truck, forming a species of inclined plane, drawn by an ill-conditioned animal. Though there seems to be a prejudice against walking, four-wheeled carriages are little used, and hackney coaches not at all. The streets are filled with gigs, cabriolets, or light sledges, often driven by their owners. The markets are excellently supplied with meat, vegetables, and, above all, with fish of various kinds and at very moderate prices.*

On the north-eastern side of the great bay composing the harbour, lies the township of Dartmouth, which enjoys a soil considerably less steril, and contains some very productive spots, carefully cultivated by industrious Germans. The territory is traversed by a chain of small lakes, which have been advantageously employed as part of the Shubenacadie canal navigation. The town itself lies directly opposite to Halifax, about a mile distant, whence a constant intercourse is carried on by means of a steam-vessel. This place has passed through many vicissitudes. Founded in 1750, it was destroyed six years afterwards by

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 10-19. Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 13-15. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 72-86. Moorsom, pp. 9, 10, 29-32.

the Indians, with every circumstance of the most merciless cruelty. No attempt was made to restore it till 1784, when, as formerly mentioned, a number of families were induced to come from Nantucket, and establish a whale-fishery. They carried on the trade with activity and success till 1792, when they suffered severely by the failure of a great house in Halifax; and receiving very tempting offers from Milford in South Wales, they quitted the country and repaired thither. The town again experienced a revival during the last American war, when numerous prizes were brought into its harbour; but this ended at the peace. Yet it has since been rather advancing, though it has in no degree rivalled Halifax, the population of the whole township in 1827 being only 1070.*

The part of the county of Halifax which extends hence about 100 miles to the border of that of Sydney, exhibits very decidedly the general character of this coast; numerous rocky bays forming excellent harbours, but the soil rugged and stubborn in a degree almost unequalled. Still there are the usual strips of intervale along the rivers, and fertile patches at the head of the bays, which, with small fishing-stations, support a scanty population. The coast for about twelve miles adjoining Dartmouth has been formed into the township of Lawrencetown, and the country behind into that of Preston. Here, in 1784, was formed a settlement chiefly of free negroes, who showed an unusual degree of industry; but the agents of the African Company somewhat injudiciously induced them to remove to Sierra Leone, where many fell victims to the climate. The remainder of the tract has not yet been thought worthy of being formed into townships. Yet the Musquedoboit, which falls into the sea near the boundary of Lawrencetown, is a fine river, having on its banks some noble timber, and several thriving settlements, the population of which exceeds 1300. A few miles farther on is

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 25-27. Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 15, 20. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 93, 94.

Jeddore Bay, which forms a very capacious harbour, but being obstructed by mud shoals, can be entered only at low water, when these become visible, and there remain still channels deep enough for the largest ships. About forty miles beyond is Knowles Harbour, which receives the Charles, a considerable river, from a chain of lakes. Here a fleet of large vessels may lie in safe anchorage, with a good bottom; and the surrounding shores abound with various descriptions of fine timber.*

We return now to the territory south-west of Halifax, which, with the county, extends to the other side of St Margaret's Bay, a deep and spacious inlet, about twenty miles distant from that which forms the harbour of the capital. This coast bears not merely the usual rocky aspect, but has been rendered exceedingly desolate by a dreadful conflagration, which at an early period stripped it of the extensive forests with which it was covered. It has, however, the usual proportion of good harbours, on each of which is a small fishing village. That of Sambro, being peculiarly safe and commodious, is much resorted to by coasters. St Margaret's affords not only plentiful accommodation for shipping, particularly at Head Harbour, but has a border of tolerably fertile land, which, since 1783, has been successfully cultivated by French and German settlers.

The county of Lunenburg extends about forty miles south-west from that of Halifax. The appearance of the coast is extremely various, and comprises three large bays, Mahone, Lunenburg, and La Have; the first of which is the most spacious, extending ten miles by twelve, and containing about 200 small islands. These, which are verdant and finely wooded, together with the winding shores, and the lofty cliff of Aspatagoen, unite to form a landscape that, for picturesque grandeur, is said not to be surpassed in America. Gold River, a stream of some magnitude, flows in from the interior. The bay of La Have is also very extensive, guarded on the sea side by

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 16. Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 29-33.

two large islands, and diversified within by several smaller ones. A river of the same name falls into it, being navigable fifteen miles up, and broken above by two considerable falls.

The chief settlement, however, bearing the name of the county, is in the middle and smaller bay divided into several branches. It was called Merliguesh till 1751, when the settlement of Germans was formed. Emigrants were attracted from among that people by liberal promises; so that during three years no fewer than 1615 were landed at Halifax. They were struck with dismay at the sight of the barren coast to which they had been invited; but it was then too late to retreat. On the 7th June 1753, there arrived at the spot now called Lunenburg, 1453 persons, who, having had land assigned to them, were required immediately to erect dwellings. The dreary aspect of the place, however, and the attacks of the Indians, excited such discontent that they employed the arms given to them for the purpose of defence, in exciting an insurrection, which was with difficulty suppressed. The colonists then received a supply of hogs, sheep, and cattle, in certain proportions, and after 1754 were required to provide for their own subsistence. But this was altogether beyond their power, at a time when they could not stir from the town without peril of death and torture; and though a high price was offered for Indian scalps, they earned very few premiums at the expense of their savage neighbours. Little progress was made in the improvement of their lands, which were comparatively fertile, till the treaty with the natives in 1760, when they began to cultivate them with such industry, that they were soon able to supply provisions to the British fleets as well as to Halifax. They sustained, however, a severe reverse in 1782, when a squadron of American privateers surprised the place, and destroyed or carried off property to the value of £12,000. Yet they recovered from this blow, and derived benefits from the last war with the United States. After a temporary depression at the cessation of hostilities,

Lunenburg continued to advance, and in 1828 contained upwards of 200 dwelling-houses built on a regular plan, with four churches, twenty-two stores, a court-house, and jail. It trades with the West Indies, Newfoundland, and Canada, having owned, in 1833, 180 vessels of the burden of 9000 tons; its exports amounted to £22,000, and its imports to £18,000. About 20,000 quintals of fish are exported, nearly a third being procured from the coast, and the remainder from Newfoundland and Labrador. The inhabitants continue to live in the old German style, in houses somewhat clumsy, having the outside of the walls painted of various colours. Within are to be seen strong old-fashioned furniture, Dutch clocks, looking-glasses, stiff old pictures, mixed with English carpets and curtains. The stove and the double feather-bed are found extremely comfortable in this climate. They are an industrious, honest, and useful race, though their obstinate adherence to the German language excludes them in a great degree from the means of extending their information. The population of the township is 5038.

Mahone Bay was not settled till 1760, when a party from New England founded the township of Chester. Discouraged, however, by its unpromising soil, many of them abandoned it; but their place was supplied by Germans from Lunenburg, who, by their steady industry, have brought it into a thriving state. The town is neat, and possesses fourteen small vessels, with seven saw-mills, which are employed in preparing timber for exportation. The whole population amounts to 2092 souls.

La Have Bay contained an early French station, of which there are still some traces; but its real settlement was similar to that of Chester. In 1760 it was occupied by 260 persons from Connecticut, who abandoned it after a few months' residence. These were succeeded, and the district now called New Dublin rendered prosperous, chiefly by Germans. The river drives thirty saw-mills used in the preparation of lumber for expor-

tation, which takes place here to a greater extent than from any other port. Population 2275.*

Queen's County extends about thirty miles along the coast, and its soil is particularly stony and unproductive. It has, however, the usual advantages of situation, containing the harbours of Medway, Liverpool, Mouton, and Jolie. The first receives a considerable river of the same name; the second a still larger one, the Mersey, which is connected with Lake Rossignol, and thus communicates by boat navigation with the Bay of Fundy.

On this river, the spot called Rossignol was in the year 1760 settled, under the name of Liverpool, by a colony from Massachusetts. They suffered at first extreme hardships, being obliged, during a whole winter, to subsist entirely upon wild rabbits. They persevered, however, and have rendered it now the best built, and one of the most flourishing towns in the province. It owns fifty-six vessels, many of which are engaged in the Labrador fisheries. There is a bay here so favourable to the curing of fish, that 20,000 quintals have been at one time spread on its shore to dry. On the river are numerous mills, which afford a large supply of timber for exportation. During the war, more privateers were fitted out from this than from any other port; but the peace, of course, deprived it of that precarious source of wealth. The harbour admits large vessels, but has a bar only nine feet deep at low water. On Coffin's Island, at its mouth, is a beacon 70 feet high, with revolving lights, the best on the coast. The inhabitants erected, at a cost of £4000, a drawbridge 1100 feet long across the harbour. The exports and imports in 1833 were worth £71,287, and in 1834 it was made a warehousing port. The population of the township is 4342.

Port Medway, to the east of Liverpool Bay, affords good fishing, and contains a hamlet bearing its name, and another called Mill Village, which are small but respectable. Port Mouton, on the other side, became

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 130-141. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 98, 99.

in 1783 the place of settlement for a corps named the British Legion, which had served with distinction under Colonel Tarleton; and so sanguine were the expectations formed, that it was erected into a township under the name of Guysborough. The settlers, however, soon found themselves disappointed in the soil and situation, and their calamities were completed by a dreadful fire which, consuming houses, furniture, and every thing they possessed, reduced them to the utmost danger of perishing by famine. They removed, therefore, to Chedabucto; and this bay, with the adjoining ones of Ports Jolie and Hebert, are now inhabited only by a few fishermen and lumberers.*

The county of Shelburne is very extensive, occupying nearly all the south-western extremity of Nova Scotia, and terminating the range of Atlantic coast. It is, on the whole, a rugged territory, traversed in the interior by ranges of the Blue Mountains, and containing on the seashore marshy tracts, which, however, may be rendered productive by great labour, should circumstances ever justify a free expenditure of capital. It contains several good rivers; the Sable, with a course of about twenty miles; the Jordan or Shelburne, forming a fine harbour near its mouth; the Clyde, flowing forty miles through a very picturesque country, and bearing some resemblance to the stream of the same name in Scotland; the Tusket, considerably larger, running along the border of Annapolis, forming numerous lakes, and being navigable eight miles upwards for large vessels and thirty-two for boats.

Shelburne remained almost unoccupied till the close of the American war, when numerous refugees from the United States unfortunately chose this district as their place of retreat. About 473 families from New York formed themselves into a society, with rules and discipline. They arrived on the 4th May 1783 at Port Roseway, and began with great activity to lay out the

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 144-147. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100.

plan of a regular and handsome town, which, amid great rejoicings occasioned by a visit from Governor Parr, was named Shelburne, after the minister of the day. In autumn, a large accession of settlers arrived, raising the population to upwards of 12,000. About half a million sterling is supposed to have been spent in founding this town, which was expected to eclipse Halifax, and become the capital of Nova Scotia. Amid their enthusiasm, however, they had not duly considered how subsistence was to be procured. The ungrateful soil could not yield it; they were too far up the bay for good fishing; and the harbour, though perhaps the very finest in Nova Scotia, could not at once attract commerce from its accustomed channels. The place was therefore deserted as rapidly as it had been filled; most of the people returning to the States, while some went to other districts of the province. It is now only a small village, containing in its whole township not more than 2697 inhabitants, who divide their attention between fishing and agriculture.

Barrington, the adjoining township, has much of its ground covered with a black chocolate-coloured turf, capable of being rendered permanently fertile, but only at the expense of an amount of labour which cannot at present be afforded. The inhabitants, 2180 in number, came chiefly from New England, and subsist almost entirely by fishing. This occupation employs sixty-nine vessels besides boats, and is so successful, that 22,000 quintals used to be exported in one year. Off this coast is Sable Island, a barren spot, famous for the first disastrous settlement of the French; and on a small adjoining islet is Cape Sable, the most southern point of Nova Scotia.

The townships of Argyle and Yarmouth occupy most of the coast facing the south-west, and looking towards the United States. The shore here relaxes gradually in its stern and rocky aspect, but does not afford equally good harbours. A considerably greater proportion of the surface is productive, though, from its marshy nature and the moist breezes from the ocean, it is better fitted

for pasturage and the dairy than for grain. The more fertile tracts are chiefly along the river Tusket and the large expanse of Argyle Bay, which forms its estuary, and contains about 300 islands named the Tuskets, affording excellent shelter for small vessels. The Acadians brought a considerable portion of this territory under cultivation; and a few of them, among whom is a descendant of La Tour, having returned to it, occupy the villages of Pubnico and Eelbrooke. Argyle was chiefly settled by loyalists and disbanded soldiers, of whom, though the circumstance is not mentioned, the name appears to indicate that a considerable number must have been Scotsmen. The place is not large; but the township, situated on the eastern border of the river and bay, contains 2790 inhabitants. Yarmouth, on the opposite side, is more fertile, and has been brought under higher cultivation by a colony from New England. The township contains 4350 inhabitants, and yields annually about 5000 tons of hay, 120,000 bushels of potatoes, and 100,000 lbs. of excellent butter and cheese. In 1833 its trade employed 37,379 tons of shipping, and its exports and imports were valued at £81,124. Settlements extend about fifteen miles up the river, whose banks abound in picturesque scenery.*

We come now to our *second* division of the country, consisting of the territory along the Bay of Fundy and its two great terminating branches; on the right the Minas Basin, which ends in Cobequid Bay; on the left the Chignecto Channel, which extends into Cumberland Basin. This division comprises the counties of Annapolis, King's, Hants, with the district of Colchester attached to Halifax county. It removes to a great extent the brand of sterility which the ocean-coast already described had affixed to the province. The land is chiefly of two kinds, valuable though opposite, marsh and upland. The former consists of low grounds on the rivers and bays, composing not narrow intervale, but

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 177-196. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 102-104. Addresses, Nova Scotia, 29th June 1836, p. 2.

extensive alluvial tracts. They are, indeed, liable to inundation; but when protected by barriers against that evil, they become exceedingly fertile. The Acadians, whose chief seat was in this district, had formed a large portion of dyked land; but when they were robbed of it, the new settlers found the defences very much injured, and had not for a long time either skill or perseverance sufficient to restore them. The uplands appear in the form of long ridges covering a great part of the country, and called by the natives mountains, though scarcely entitled to the name of hills. Their summits, broad and level, when cleared of wood, show a light and dry soil, which is easily cultivated, and produces very good crops. Settlement, as yet, has rarely been carried more than three or four miles from the coast, but is gradually extending. The variegated surface of hill and dale, the farm-houses, cultivated fields, and rich meadows, breaking in upon the still almost unbroken forest, with the long bays and inlets on which these border, exhibit scenery which travellers describe with admiration.

In a detailed view of this coast, the county of Annapolis claims the first place. It extends along nearly the whole coast of the Bay of Fundy, before it begins to separate into its upper branches. At the bottom is the deep bay of St Mary, formed by Long Island and the narrow peninsula of Digby Neck. Higher up, the Annapolis flows from the north-east, parallel to the shores of the first-mentioned bay, leaving between them a long narrow strip of land; till at length, spreading into a broad estuary, it falls into the sea at the chief town. On each side extend ranges of what is called the North Mountain. Annapolis forms a fertile tract, containing large ranges both of dyked land and of productive upland.

The most southern township, bordering on St Mary's Bay, is Clare, interesting as the principal spot occupied on their return by the exiled Acadians. It was allotted to them in 1768 by Lieutenant-governor Francklin,

as a very poor compensation for what they had been deprived of, being a mere tract of uninhabited forest. It was good land, however, and capable of being improved by the abundance of sea-weed on the shore; and by the diligent use of these advantages they have made the settlement very flourishing. In 1800 they numbered 1050 souls, which in 1828 had increased to 2038. They chiefly raise barley and potatoes, for which, as well as the surplus of their fishery, they find a market at St John, New Brunswick. They show an aversion, which can excite no surprise, to the society of the English; but among themselves lead the same cheerful, pious, contented life, as the *habitans* of Lower Canada. They have a handsome chapel at each end of the settlement; in one of which has officiated for thirty years the Abbé Segoigne, a highly respectable French emigrant, who acts as a father as well as an instructor, and commands their entire veneration. In 1820 a dreadful conflagration consumed nearly all their property; but being aided by liberal contributions from the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, they have completely retrieved this loss.*

In ascending the bay, we find the two townships of Digby and Clements, reaching inland to a considerable distance, and possessing the general advantages of this part of the country. The latter, in particular, is a fine farming district, adorned by a beautiful valley formed by Moose River. An iron-foundery has been established here, which threatens to strip the banks of their beautiful forests; but its success is not yet quite decided. Digby is mostly maritime; and the town of that name, on a hill near the influx of the Annapolis, contains about a hundred houses. Its convenient site for fishing as well as for affording shelter to vessels on a coast almost destitute of harbours, must secure to this place an increasing importance. With the adjoining districts, it was celebrated for its herrings, extremely well cured, and known

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 161-174. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 110, 111.

over all America under the name of Dighy Chickens; but since 1819 they have become much less numerous. This want is in a great measure compensated by the mackerel fishery, which the mariners of this township pursue along the coast of New England as far as Cape Cod. They make three or four trips in a season; and, besides a considerable quantity consumed at home, export them largely to New Brunswick and the West Indies. The population of Digby is 3614, that of Clements 1611.

The township of Annapolis, along the left bank of the river of that name, forms a fine range, including large tracts of alluvial soil well enclosed, while even the higher grounds, when cleared of stones, yield good crops. It is now almost entirely a rural district; for the town, once the capital of French Acadia, and distinguished by so many important events, is now only a village of fifty or sixty houses, with churches, and a respectable seminary. There are remains of the public buildings and fortifications, but these are rapidly going to decay. The surrounding land being the property of government, checks the extension of the place, while the rise of Digby and other towns in more convenient situations, seems to preclude it from ever attaining its former importance. The population of the township of Annapolis, comprehending a part of Dalhousie settlement, is 2578.

The long narrow strip of land between the Annapolis and the sea, is divided into the townships of Granville and Wilmot, the first containing a population of 2526, the second of 2294. It is traversed and almost filled by the low ridge called the North Mountain, whose heights and declivities include much fine soil, while along its base lie rich alluvial tracts. The territory consists almost entirely of farms, with scarcely a village except the neat and thriving one of Bridgetown, so named from a bridge that here crosses the river. The coast, though high, is quite unlike the opposite one, nowhere broken into harbours; to remedy which want, a pier has been formed at Wilmot, and is found commodious for its small trade.*

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 157-176. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 107-115.

Beyond Annapolis county the Bay of Fundy narrows to a strait, which opens into the Basin of Minas. This broad inlet, with the smaller bay of Cobequid in which it terminates, is bordered by some of the highest and at the same time most fertile land in Nova Scotia. The tide rushes into it with extraordinary rapidity, preceded by the phenomenon called the *bore*, a line of foam four feet high, extending across the bay, and rushing over the sands at the rate of more than four miles an hour. It recedes with equal celerity, leaving many miles of the shore dry; and when its periods are carefully attended to, it materially aids the progress of the mariner.

King's county, having one side on the Bay of Fundy and the other on that of Minas, consists of the townships of Aylesford, Cornwallis, Horton, and Parrsborough. The first on the Fundy was settled in 1784 by loyalists; it nearly resembles Annapolis, but has no town of consequence. Cornwallis and Horton, bounded by the Minas Basin, include some very bold heights, part of the northern chain bounded by Cape Blomidon, and also those called the Horton Mountains. From these about nineteen streams fall into the basin, and form large tracts, not only of that alluvial border called intervale, but of those marshy lands which, when dyked, become so particularly fertile. This labour was diligently performed by the Acadians, who had enclosed above 7000 acres, among which was the Grande Prairie, comprising upwards of 2000. Some years after their expulsion the domain was occupied by settlers from New England; but the bulwarks were found greatly dilapidated, and long time and much expense were necessary ere they could be fully restored. The tract has since become surprisingly productive, yielding in several parts fifty bushels of wheat an acre, while others are covered with almost innumerable herds of cattle. The views from several of the heights above Horton comprise every element of landscape, and are considered by many the very finest in Nova Scotia. Parrsborough is a township of this province, on the opposite side of the water.

It is broken and hilly, but not so as to be unproductive; and since 1783 has been settled to a considerable extent. The capital, of the same name, is a small village on the neck of land between the bay and the Minas Basin.*

Hants county extends from the borders of King's along the whole south-eastern shore of the Minas and its branch of Cobequid Bay, till it is bounded by the Shubenacadie. It consists generally of the same features as those just described; hills of considerable height in the background; numerous rivers flowing from them into the basin; fertile tracts of intervale or marsh on their banks; uplands covered with dense forests, and generally susceptible of good cultivation. Among the hills, Ardoise, in the rear of Windsor, ranks as the highest in the province, commanding, as has been already observed, a magnificent prospect, and giving a general grandeur to the surrounding scenery. This county is distinguished by its copious deposites of gypsum, lime, and in some places of coal, the first of which is exported to a very considerable extent. The townships are Falmouth, Windsor, Newport, Rawdon, Kempt, and Douglas.

Of these, Windsor is by far the most important. It is watered by the Avon and St Croix, whose united stream is very small, unless at full tide, when the sea rushes in so copiously as to convert it into a broad channel, twenty or thirty feet deep, and capable of receiving large vessels. The dyked marshes, amounting to 2500 acres, are considered the very finest in the province, and the Acadians exported thence great quantities of wheat. After their expulsion, the tract was first neglected, and then made over in large grants to men in power; hence its improvement was a long time retarded; but this subject of complaint is now entirely removed. There is good upland, though the very elevated heights in the rear are cold and barren. The shelter afforded by them, however, renders the climate so mild, as to enable the inhabitants to raise peaches and other delicate fruits.

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 115-127. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 117-119.

Windsor, agreeably situated at the junction of the two rivers, is one of the principal towns of Nova Scotia. It contains about 130 houses, which are neatly built, and surrounded by orchards. The university, which is the chief seminary in the county, is finely situated on an eminence about a mile distant. It consists of five houses constructed of wood, each three stories high, with two suites of rooms on a floor; the whole under one roof. Within its grounds is the collegiate school, a handsome freestone edifice, the mode of instruction pursued in which will be noticed under another head. The influx of the tide renders Windsor a port, whence packets sail to St John and St Andrew, New Brunswick, as well as to other places. The chief export is gypsum, which abounds in the township, forming a high mural precipice several miles along the banks of the St Croix. The air is considered remarkably healthy.

The other townships do not contain any place of importance, and comprehend little that is not included in the general description of the county. Newport, between the Avon and a considerable stream called the Kennetcook, possesses nearly all the advantages of Windsor; in particular the same minerals, with the addition of excellent freestone. It is well cultivated and densely inhabited. Kempt, on the other side of the Kennetcook, has good uplands, with cod and herring fisheries. It yields, however, to Douglas, whose dyked marshes along the Shubenacadie are not surpassed even by those of Windsor. To an abundance of the other minerals, it adds coal and slate. Rawdon, in the rear of Newport and Kempt, has a good but rather unimproved soil, which is chiefly employed in supplying hay to Halifax. Falmouth, on the other side of Windsor, adjoins to Horton, which it very nearly resembles.*

On rounding the head of the bay and passing along its north-western shore, we find the large district of Colchester, which ranks as part of the county of Halifax,

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 100-113. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 117-122.

though in point of situation and character it belongs altogether to the range now described. It possesses the same qualities as the Hants townships, and seems scarcely at all inferior in richness of soil, mineral wealth, particularly coal, happy situation, and beauty of scenery. The fine expanse of water by which it is bordered is every where navigable, and affords good harbours.

Truro township extends from the Shubenacadie river to the head of the narrow inlet in which the Minas terminates. It has a good soil, is well cultivated, and contains inexhaustible quarries of gypsum, lime, and freestone. The absence of the French settlers was supplied in 1761 by Irish emigrants, and it has ever since continued to improve. There is a village of its own name, tolerably large, divided into lower and upper, though the former is little more than a range of contiguous farm-houses. The site is described as peculiarly beautiful. The two hamlets appear amid richly cultivated fields, relieved by finely swelling uplands, and backed by wooded and undulating hills, while the eye commands the whole of the Bay of Minas, with its varied shores, forming a circuit of about sixty miles. The houses are handsome and commodious; there are Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, a court-house, good inns; in short, all the appendages of a country town on a respectable scale.

The townships of Onslow and Londonderry, and the settlement of Economy, present on the whole the same agreeable aspect. The Cobequid Mountains, in the back-ground, send down into the Bay of Minas many little streams, on whose banks is a fair proportion of intervale and dyked marsh, while their declivities comprise abundance of fertile upland. They are dotted with a number of small villages, but none of importance.*

To complete the description of the territory connected with the Bay of Fundy, it will be necessary to notice the part of Cumberland county situated upon its most western portion, called the Bay of Chignecto, which

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 39-41. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124.

divides Nova Scotia from New Brunswick. The upper branch, called the Cumberland Basin, receives the rivers Missiguash, La Planche, Nepan, Maccan, and Hebert, on which are the township of Amherst and the settlement of Fort Lawrence. This district, early occupied by emigrants from Massachusetts and from Yorkshire, is well cultivated and flourishing. The higher grounds are not very productive; but the dyked marshes, consisting of about 5000 acres, equal any in the country. They are chiefly used for pasturing numerous herds of cattle, the butter and cheese produced from which find a ready market at St John, Miramichi, and Halifax. On the opposite sides of the Missiguash were the rival forts of Lawrence and Beau Sejour, the theatre of the obstinate contest between the French and English. The latter, with its name changed to Cumberland, has been rebuilt, and is still kept up; and the intrenchments formed by our countrymen when besieging it remain visible. Lower down, towards Parrsborough, is the settlement of Minudie, where Governor Francklin assembled a remnant of the Acadians, who had escaped from the proscription formerly endured. They compose nearly fifty families, who subsist comfortably on 3000 acres of dyked land, with a good fishery of shad; they live in their usual secluded and happy manner. In this vicinity is a valuable quarry of grindstones, producing not less than £10,000 a-year.*

The third general division, as originally laid down, consists of the coast facing the north-east, and bordered by channels connected with the Gulf of St Lawrence, but enclosed by the adjacent islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward. It comprises most of the county of Cumberland, the district of Pictou (attached to Halifax), and the county of Sydney. This territory, while it displays nothing of the severe and rugged character peculiar to the ocean-coast, is in many parts destitute of that luxuriant soil which enriches the Bay of Fundy;

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 61-65. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 125.

but it is generally capable of good cultivation, and after being long neglected, has of late been very much improved. Many tracts are finely wooded, and the great vein of coal by which it is traversed promises, from the scarcity of that useful mineral in other parts of America, to prove of the utmost importance. There are also valuable iron mines. The shore, neither broken nor rocky, presents not those fine harbours which distinguish the Atlantic border; yet it is not seriously deficient in that important respect.

To connect our present description with that which precedes, we will begin with the county of Cumberland. The districts situated on Chignecto Basin have been already surveyed. On the opposite side, Baie Verte or Green Bay approaches so closely to the extremities of Cumberland Basin as to leave only an interval of about eleven miles, forming the isthmus that connects Nova Scotia with the American continent. A canal across this neck of land has long been projected; and it seems wonderful that it has not yet been carried into effect. According to an estimate obtained by Sir Howard Douglas from an eminent engineer, it could be constructed for £68,000, affording a depth of eight feet of water; or for £45,000, allowing only four and a half. The former dimension seems decidedly the more satisfactory, as it would afford a passage to vessels fitted also to navigate the open sea. The communication would doubtless greatly benefit Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as well as other parts of British America.

The remainder of this county consists chiefly of Wallace township, having its principal settlements on the rivers St Philip and Pugwash, the bays of Wallace and Tatamagouche. This tract is generally fruitful, with good fisheries of salmon, shad, and gaspereaux. As it abounds also with particularly fine timber, the attention of the inhabitants has, to the regret of many, been chiefly attracted to that trade, and cultivation is comparatively neglected. The settlers are for the most part loyalists from New York, who repaired thither at

the end of the American war; and they were joined, about twenty-five years ago, by a party of Highlanders. The former erected the settlement of West Chester, on the very summit of the Cobequid Hills; but this station, injudiciously chosen, has not been prosperous.*

After Cumberland comes Pictou district, usually, but with no great propriety, ranked in the county of Halifax. After having been long neglected, it has become one of the most important in the whole province. The soil, without being luxuriant, is throughout good, and the mineral products highly important. The French, before 1763, had only formed a few small settlements, which they then abandoned. Soon after, a company at Philadelphia, chiefly under the direction of Dr Witherspoon, an eminent divine, sent thither a colony from Maryland. About eight years later, they were reinforced by about thirty families from the Scottish Highlands; for whose subsistence, however, so little provision had been made, that being in danger of perishing, they were obliged to cross the hills in the depth of winter to procure a supply. They received at the end of the American war an accession of disbanded troops, who did not, on the whole, prove an advantage; but on their arrival, measures were taken to procure a clergyman. The people obtained the services of Dr M'Gregor, a Highland minister belonging to the Secession Church. As soon as it was reported to his countrymen that the Gospel was preached in their native language, this district proved the favourite resort of the immigrants from that quarter. In 1790 was built the first house in the town and port of Pictou, which in 1827 contained 1439 souls, and had become the chief seat of trade on the coast, exporting fish, oil, timber, and other articles, to the annual value of £100,000. The place is built in a very irregular and crowded manner, but contains many good houses, an unusual proportion being of stone. An academy established in 1816 appears to have been of great advantage to the country. The Bay

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 66-73. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 126, 127.

of Pictou receives three rivers, called East, Middle, and West, each bordered by flourishing settlements. On the first are the Albion coal mines, which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. The town and whole district, according to Mr M'Gregor, are decidedly Scottish. "In the streets, within the houses, in the shops, on board the vessels, and along the roads, we hear little but Gaelic or broad Scotch. The Highland dress, the bagpipe, and Scottish music are also general." We regret however, to learn, that the peace of the district has been disturbed by religious dissensions, chiefly on subjects of church government.*

The county of Sydney, with which our description of Nova Scotia will terminate, consists of the angular space by which the north-east coast now delineated passes into the south-west one, facing the ocean, and belongs partly to both. It is divided into two districts, upper and lower. The former is decidedly the best in an agricultural point of view; its soil, both alluvial and upland, being equal to any in the country. It was peopled only by a small remnant of Acadians till the year 1784, when a detachment of the Nova Scotia regiment was located on the southern coast. They remained, however, surrounded by a desert, till the emigrations which took place from the Scottish Highlands in 1795 and 1801; and a favourable report being soon spread, fresh arrivals have successively followed, till the population has risen to upwards of 7000. A large extent of the coast, with the adjoining one of Pictou, has received the name of Arisaig, including settlements called Knoydart, Moydart, and such like; and the traveller, who every where meets the language, dress, and hospitality peculiar to this hardy race, can scarcely believe himself not to be on the western coast of Scotland. The opposite extremity, round St George's Bay, comprises the settlements of Pomquet, Tracadie, and Aubushée, possessed by the Acadians, who, here as elsewhere, pursue their peculiar mode of

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 50-57. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 128-134.

life, except that they employ themselves more in fishing and the coast trade. The chief town, Dorchester, formerly called Antigonish from its situation on a large bay of that name, is a neat little place, with a very handsome Roman Catholic chapel, Presbyterian and Baptist meeting houses, and about forty-five private mansions.

In the lower district, the townships of Manchester and Guysborough, extending along the channel of Canseau and round the great bay of Chedabucto, occupy as it were the transition part of the province, running in an oblique line from one coast to another. The bay now mentioned is the best fishing-ground in Nova Scotia, and scarcely surpassed by any in the world. Cod in vast numbers appear early in the season, while herrings of superior quality abound in summer. But these are much surpassed by the shoals of mackerel in spring and autumn. In Guysborough harbour 2000 or 3000 barrels of the latter have been caught in one day, and a seine has sometimes been known to enclose from 800 to 1000 barrels at a single draught. In each of the years 1824 and 1825 there were caught, on a coast of not more than twelve miles, 50,000 barrels. Crow Harbour and Fox Island, the two chief seats of the fishery, were formerly free to all; but now several persons, in virtue of grants from government, levy a ground-rent and other exactions, which seem justly complained of. In this rough trade, the property of the seines is often violently invaded and contested.

At the head of Chedabucto Bay, Milford Haven, a long narrow inlet, ranks as harbour to Guysborough, a finely situated village, the court town of the district, with thirty houses, three places of worship, and some good buildings. The entrance of the port is narrow and difficult; but it admits vessels of 500 tons, and affords perfect security. Manchester, on the opposite side of the inlet, though several detachments of disbanded troops and loyalists were located upon it, has never risen into any importance.

After passing Cape Canseau, on which is a small village, the boundary of Sydney becomes a portion of the great Atlantic coast first described. It presents the usual

characteristics, a rocky territory, and magnificent harbours, but without any traffic in which to employ them. On Country Harbour, one of the best of these, a settlement called Stormont was attempted, but failed; and there is now only a small trade in timber and fish. Farther on occurs the St Mary, a fine river with three branches, navigable for ships ten miles upwards. There is good land too on its higher banks; but the settlement has been retarded by improvident grants made with the view of establishing a salmon-fishery, which is now discontinued. Sherbrooke, near its mouth, derives some advantage from ship-building and the export of timber.*

Cape Breton, called by the French L'Isle Royale, is a large island immediately adjacent to Nova Scotia, and now forming one of its counties. It lies between 45° 27′ and 47° 5′ north latitude, and between 59° 38′ and 61° 50′ west longitude, its greatest length being about 100 miles, and its extreme width 80. It comprises an area of about two millions of acres. A long line of the coast directly faces the county of Sydney, and is separated from it by the Bays of St George and of Chedabucto, and by the channel called the Gut of Canseau, which, in one place, is only a mile broad. At Cape Hinchinbrooke, the direction changes, and for about sixty miles, as far as Cape Breton, faces the south-east, nearly parallel to the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia. This may be considered as the base of the island, and thence two opposite shores stretch northward, facing respectively the east and the west. Approaching each other, they terminate almost in a point at Cape North, whence, at the distance of fifty miles, the coast of Newfoundland forms the opposite boundary of the entrance into the Gulf of St Lawrence.

The whole circuit, with the exception of the west coast, is singularly irregular, diversified by deep bays and long promontories. A large portion is even filled by a mediterranean sea, called the Bras d'Or, communi-

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 77-98. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 136-140.

cating with the Atlantic by two narrow channels, itself spreading irregularly, and broken into almost innumerable bays of every size and shape. At one point it approaches within less than a mile of the opposite coast, dividing the island into two peninsulas connected by that narrow isthmus. Cape Breton is thus formed into two divisions, southern and northern, of which the first is not much above a third of the other in extent; yet, from its happy situation and noble harbours, it has been the seat of the earliest and most flourishing settlements.*

The surface of Cape Breton generally resembles that of Nova Scotia, being broken and hilly, yet nowhere rising to alpine dimensions. This is particularly the case with the southern division, none of whose eminences are supposed to exceed 600 feet; but in the more northern portion, the land gradually swells, till it presents to the ocean the formidable cliff of Cap Enfumé (Smoky Cape). The actual elevation of this headland, however, has never been accurately measured, and is variously conjectured. M. Bouchette conceives it not to exceed 1500 feet. Mr M'Gregor, from repeated views, was disposed to estimate it at 1800; while Mr Haliburton had heard it affirmed to be half a mile, which would exceed 2600. The south-eastern coast, beaten by the ocean, is formed into magnificent harbours, similar to those on the corresponding part of Nova Scotia. But the more northern, and especially the western shore, faces the sea with a bold wall of rock, which only at very distant intervals allows an entrance to vessels. It presents, therefore, a most inhospitable aspect to the mariner, and has been the scene of frequent and disastrous shipwrecks. In regard to fertility, an unfavourable impression has been received from causes nearly the same as in Nova Scotia. The south-eastern coast, as well as the extreme north, are decidedly barren; and these being the lines along which navigators usually sail, have been viewed as specimens

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 73. Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 201-203.

of the whole, when, in fact, they are only exceptions. Thin, rocky, and swampy spots, are indeed interspersed throughout; but, upon the whole, the proportion of fertile land is said to be fully as great as in Nova Scotia. It has not, indeed, her luxuriant dyked marshes, the best soils in Cape Breton being those called upland; but the quality of these is considered by Mr Haliburton to be superior. He estimates that, of the entire surface of 2,000,000 acres, 800,000 may consist of small lakes, barrens, and swamps, leaving 1,200,000 fit for cultivation. Of these, between 700,000 and 800,000 have been granted or occupied, so that there remains from 400,000 to 500,000 open for settlement. Extensive beds of excellent coal, large quarries of gypsum, and important iron mines not yet worked, rank among the leading advantages of this island.*

The climate nearly resembles that of the adjacent continent. The heavy fogs, however, do not sweep along so large a portion of its coast, but are confined to that which faces the south-east, while the remainder generally enjoys a serene sky. It is, at the same time, more moist, and also more variable than that of Canada. The frosts of winter, though equally intense, are frequently interrupted by strong and sudden thaws, which are extremely inconvenient. They break up the communications, deprive vegetation of the covering of snow which protects it, and leave it unsheltered to the action of cold, which soon returns in full intensity. Yet these variations do not produce the injurious effect on the human constitution which might be supposed; on the contrary, Cape Breton, like the adjoining territory, is considered particularly healthy.

This island was early and long occupied by the French, being even, as we have seen, restored to them after Nova Scotia had been finally ceded. They attached the greatest importance to a possession which, from

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 245, 258, 259. Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 75, 76.

its situation on the Gulf of St Lawrence, was considered the bulwark of Canada, and also as securing their communication with the West Indies. When Britain became final mistress of the territory, she viewed it rather as a post from which her enemy must be excluded, than one whence she herself could derive much advantage. The fortifications of Louisbourg were rased to the ground; but the hostile population still inspired apprehension, and the productive capacities of the island were much underrated. It was not till 1800 that they were discovered by the Scottish Highlanders, who then began an immigration which has continued at the rate of from several hundreds to upwards of a thousand annually. They now greatly outnumber the original Acadians; and these two races, with a remnant of Indians and a few American loyalists, formed in 1827 a population of 18,000, at present probably amounting to at least 25,000. They have occupied all the coasts both of the sea and of the Bras d'Or, where they combine the occupations of agriculture and fishing. For this last the winding shores and numberless bays of Cape Breton afford facilities scarcely equalled in any other part of the world; besides which, they have ready access to the great banks of Newfoundland and Labrador. Although their industry still operates in a very imperfect degree, they export a considerable quantity of fish, some lumber and coal, and even afford a supply of corn and cattle to the markets of Halifax and Newfoundland.

In stating such particulars as respect this island, we will commence with the southern division, following the coast, on which the settlements are exclusively situated. Its most eastern part, stretching thirty miles from the entrance of the great Bras d'Or, may be called the coal district, the cliffs which face the ocean being throughout streaked with veins of that mineral. Some of these seams having taken fire and burnt for several years, have been reduced to cinders, which present a very singular appearance.

At the head of a fine bay, the first on this coast, is

Sydney, which, since the fall of Louisbourg, has ranked as the capital. The harbour is capacious and secure; a low bar, without obstructing the entrance, breaks the force of the waves. On the shore are fine coal mines, from which Halifax is chiefly supplied; but unfortunately they lie outside the bar, so that vessels find some difficulty in lading. The town is built on a peninsula between two branches of the inlet which forms the harbour. Besides the advantages now stated, Sydney is admirably situated for the fishery, and surrounded by a good agricultural district; yet from some cause which no writer has distinctly unfolded, it has never risen to any importance. It remains a mere village, of about sixty houses and 450 inhabitants. There are in it the usual structures which belong to a county town; but the Roman Catholic chapel is the most handsome.

The next bay is that of Lingan, deficient as a harbour, but containing some beds of good coal, which, like those of Sydney, are now worked by the Albion Mining Company. Cow Bay, where they terminate, and Miray Bay, are only separated by a low barren peninsula. The latter is beautiful and spacious, receiving a fine river, that flows thirty miles through the interior. The land, too, though light, is very well fitted for pasturage; but its settlement is much obstructed by a large grant improvidently made. Opposite to its most eastern point is the island of Scatari, barren and rocky, yet affording a good station for fishermen. From its situation, it is usually the first land made by vessels going from Europe to that part of America; and as they are apt, in steering westward, to get out of their reckoning, the approach is often first announced by the roar of its breakers. Shipwreck is frequently the consequence; so that a light-house upon this spot appears urgently called for, and its erection is now contemplated by the British government. Under shelter of the island is the small port of Mainadieu, inhabited by active mariners, who are employed in fishing and in conveying coals from Sydney to Halifax. Near the extremity of an opposite promontory is the small island of Cape Breton or Puerto Nuevo, called by sailors Port

Novy, which may be considered as forming the south-eastern extremity of the great island. Being low, it bears few marks of the violent waves of the Atlantic, which have dashed against it during so many ages.*

From this point begins the broken and rugged south-western coast. For about twelve miles it is rocky, yet low, and what the sailors call hummocky, with only one or two fishing-villages. Then appear the ruins of Louisbourg, a singular spectacle in the New World, where every thing is usually found advancing. The place, indeed, has been so completely swept away, that some attention is necessary to discover even the outline of the principal buildings. The walls were blasted with gunpowder; the materials of its edifices were carried away for the construction of Halifax and other towns on the coast; and the whole is now invested with a covering of turf and moss. Yet by the aid of a guide it is still possible to trace the contour of the plan, though broken by wide gaps, and the foundations of the batteries; even the sunken ships may in calm weather be discerned at the mouth of the harbour. The capacious casements, once filled with instruments of destruction, now afford shelter to a few sheep that feed on the sward above them. The surrounding country is barren; yet, considering the noble harbour, the numerous rills of fresh water, and the advantages of situation, it seems unaccountable that nothing should be left but a few fishermen's huts. It would almost seem as if settlers were deterred by the gloomy contrast between its present desolation and the commercial activity, as well as naval and military pomp, which it formerly exhibited.†

Immediately beyond this spot, in the deep bay of Gabarus, is a settlement of American loyalists. Hence to St Esprit, the coast, composed of red earthy banks, contains only some small fishing-stations; and the country, for a great depth inland, is said to be barren, though

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 207-214, 245-247. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 386-389.

† Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 214 219. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 388-392.

abounding in game. Beyond, the soil improves greatly, and on Grand River it is very valuable, particularly on the upper banks, which are adorned by a chain of beautiful lakes. This tract is settled by Scottish emigrants.

For about twenty-five miles to the entrance of the channel of Canseau, the coast is broken into a variety of small inlets occupied by Acadians, who cultivate patches of good land, and, at the same time, carry on an active fishery. At its western extremity, Lennox Channel separates it from the considerable isle called Madame, about sixteen miles long, and of very irregular outline. There is some rich soil round the lakes in the interior; but the chief value is derived from commodious fishing bays. Arichat, on the south coast, is the most important place, and is supposed by Mr M'Gregor to contain nearly 2000 inhabitants, chiefly Acadians. The trade is for the most part in the hands of Jersey merchants, who employ the people of the neighbourhood in taking fish, which they transport to Europe and the West Indies. From this port, the principal in Cape Breton, there were exported in 1828, 39,200 quintals dry cod and 12,559 barrels pickled fish; 220 vessels were owned; and in 1833 there were built 2000 tons of shipping.*

The Gut of Canseau, as it is usually termed, is a deep navigable channel, bordered, on the Cape Breton shore, by a dense colony of Highlanders, reaching about four miles inland. This coast has also an excellent harbour near its centre, at Bear Island Point, the trade of which is rising into importance. Beyond the channel, the Scottish settlement continues about twenty miles towards Port Hood, an excellent harbour, the last on this coast. It is the county town for the northern district, and has a considerable export of cattle to Newfoundland. Farther on the coast becomes very high and bold, particularly at the abrupt headland of Cape Mabou, where there is a harbour for small vessels; and the Highlanders,

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 219. 221. M'Gregor vol. i. pp. 393, 394. Addresses, Nova Scotia, 20th June 1836, p. 8.

mixed with some Irish settlers and American loyalists, still continue to render its steeps productive.

About fifty miles north of Port Hood, the Marguerite or Salmon, a considerable river flowing from a large lake in the south-west, falls into the sea. Its banks are occupied by an old and flourishing settlement of Acadians, who employ their fertile lands in rearing cattle and growing potatoes, to which they add, as usual, an active fishery. They possess the coast to the extent of sixteen miles, or as far as Cheticamp, where the Jersey merchants have also a station.

Beyond this point to Cape St Lawrence, an interval of thirty miles, the coast, almost uninhabited, consists of a range of high and steep cliffs, which do not afford a single opening to shelter the mariner. As vessels in the north-west storms of November and December are often driven upon this lee-shore, it has become the scene of frequent and most calamitous shipwrecks. The crews cast on this dreadful coast frequently lose their way in the woods; nor do they often reach an inhabited place without undergoing the greatest hardships. Mr Haliburton advises them in all cases to make for Cheticamp along the shore, a route which they cannot mistake.

Cape St Lawrence and Cape North form two promontories which, at the extremity of this island, face the gulf with their lofty cliffs. Between them is a bay, said to have in its rear some extent of good land, though yet unoccupied. About ten miles north-east from Cape North is St Paul, a steep and naked rock, on whose precipitous sides thousands of seamen have perished. Vessels entering the gulf, perplexed by thick fogs and conflicting currents, and deceived by the deep water which is found almost close to its base, are too often driven against it, and instantly destroyed. Human bones are constantly seen washed among its rocks; while under water lie numerous massive anchors, the only remains of the many noble ships that have here been dashed to atoms. Coins, too, are frequently thrown on the adjoining coast by the waves. A light-house, with gongs

or a cannon that would be heard through the mist, is most urgently wanted on this spot.* Indeed, government have announced their readiness to erect one here and at Scatari, provided the Colonial Assemblies will contribute towards furnishing the means of supporting them.

On the other side of Cape North is Aspy Bay, which receives a number of streams bordered by fine land, that has attracted a considerable number of settlers. More southward, the coast becomes very bold, and includes Cap Enfumé, already mentioned as the highest point in the island. A bay north of it contains Inganish, a small fishing-station; but the land is generally barren. About twenty miles south from this cape, the Bay of St Anne, after narrowing to a strait, spreads upward into one of the safest and most spacious harbours in America. Its shores are fertile, and exhibit grand and picturesque scenery. The French at first made this their principal station, under the name of Port Dauphin, but afterwards entirely abandoned it in favour of Louisbourg, whose position on the ocean they considered preferable. It was almost deserted, till about twenty years ago, when it was occupied by a Scottish colony, who have rendered it one of the most flourishing settlements on Cape Breton.†

We have now made the circuit of the coast; and the interior is only known so far as it extends along that large winding gulf called the Bras d'Or. Between Sydney on the south and St Anne Bay on the north are its two entrances, separated by the long unoccupied island of Boulardrie. The most southerly and narrowest one soon opens into a smaller expanse, called the Little Bras d'Or. Its coasts for about twenty miles are fit for cultivation, and occupied by Scottish emigrants, while at the entrance an active fishery is carried on by Irishmen from Newfoundland. The northern channel, broader and deeper, is considered the entrance to the Great Bras d'Or, of which it even constitutes a part; its shores consist of bold gypsum cliffs. At the end of Boulardrie, these

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 223-232. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 396-398.
† Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 231-234. M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 399, 400.

two channels unite, and form a wide sea, whence stretches about twenty miles to the westward a long winding bay, whose branches, Bedeque, Watchabuktctckt, and others which our organs cannot pronounce, terminate in the larger gulf of Whycocomagh, whence a good deal of timber is exported. The shores, throughout its whole length, are settled by Scotsmen. In another direction the united Bras d'Or contracts into a narrow strait named Barra, but then immediately expands into the main body of this immense lake. A little beyond the strait it throws out Denys Bay, diversified by many crooked inlets; adjoining to it are the creeks of Great and Little Malagawaatchkt. The central expanse terminates in two bays on the east and on the west. The former, called St Andrew, is about twenty miles long, and becomes very narrow, before it closes in the inlet called Tweedmooge. The western one, only about fifteen miles in length, but much broader, is named St George. That of St Peter is comparatively small, but important from approaching within 900 yards of the bay of the same name on the southern coast; the Bras having stretched fifty miles across from sea to sea. A deep cut through this isthmus would, as we have already suggested, be of the greatest advantage, not only to the inland navigation, but to enable vessels bound to Halifax to avoid the stormy course round Scatari Island. In 1825, Mr Hall the engineer estimated that it might be executed for £17,000.

The shores of this great inland sea are rarely bold or high. Numerous streams, from 60 to 100 feet in breadth, flow into it by sluggish and winding channels, forming at their mouths low marshy islands, overhung by the dark heavy foliage of the hemlock and spruce. On ascending the rivers and creeks, however, the prospect materially improves; wooded hills and rich meadows form scenes at once picturesque and fertile. With the exception of a tract occupied by Micmac Indians on St Andrew Bay, the whole has been settled by Scottish Highlanders, a great proportion of whom emigrated from the Hebrides.*

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 235-243. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 401-404.

CHAPTER VII.

Industry and Commerce of Nova Scotia.

Agriculture—Different Soils—Chief Products—Mode of Culture —Minerals—Coal—Gypsum—Sandstone—Metals—Fisheries— Timber—Commerce—Various Articles of Export and Import.

Agriculture, which the abundance of unoccupied land should naturally render the principal source of prosperity to a new colony, was long viewed in Nova Scotia as a subordinate and inferior occupation. Many were attracted by the more stirring and animating pursuits of fishery and the lumber-trade. The importance of the country as a naval and military station led government to form large establishments, which gave employment to numerous individuals; while in time of war, privateering offered the chance of suddenly acquiring ample fortunes. These occupations were considered not only more profitable, but more genteel, than tilling the soil on a small scale, and by personal labour. Mr M'Gregor complains that the people would rather earn a livelihood as petty shopkeepers and pedlars than by cultivating their own lands. The failure, however, of the more brilliant but precarious sources of emolument, drove them at length to this more solid and permanent one; and the experience of its benefits has induced them to persevere. The system of management was long extremely defective; but in 1817 the formation, under the patronage of the late Earl of Dalhousie, of an agricultural board with numerous branches, and the impulse given by a series of letters published by Mr

John Young under the signature of Agricola, have induced a sensible improvement.*

Farming in Nova Scotia is carried on under circumstances resembling those of Lower Canada, yet with certain important variations. The climate, though somewhat less severe, is not on the whole more favourable; for the thaws, which break the continuity of winter, produce no advantage, and the frequent rains, caused by vapours from the Atlantic, are inconvenient. The end of May usually arrives before the fields afford good pasturage. A more striking difference consists in the surface; for while the cultivated parts of Canada are almost one uniform plain, this province is traversed by ranges of hills, which, though not lofty, are broad, and often steep. From these descend numerous streams, which, when swelled by the winter snows, inundate the lower valleys. Again, the Bay of Minas and its long branches, are subject to very high tides, laying under water all the level shores. Hence arises the distinction of soils into upland, intervale, and marsh.

The uplands, situated on the summits or declivities of the hills, are beyond the reach of inundation. Their quality is various, and generally indicated by the trees which grow on them. A great proportion is rocky and barren; but many elevated tracts, though scarcely ever equal in fertility to the lower grounds, afford at least good pasturage. Intervale is the name given in America to the flat land along the rivers, annually inundated by the melted snows in spring, termed the *freshets*, which, in the course of years, deposite a rich and deep layer of alluvial matter. This soil in its natural state is too moist for cultivation; nevertheless, when properly managed, it yields very plentiful crops without the aid of manure. The *marsh* consists of the very low grounds regularly placed under water, either by the streams, or by the more violent tides that flow into the inner bays. These, conformably to their name,

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 142-144.

would be completely useless, had not a species of industry, of which the Acadians set the example, converted them into the finest lands in the country. Piles of timber, connected by small trees and branches, and covered with earth, form what is called an *aboiteau*, whereby the water is excluded, leaving, however, a sluice which can be opened and shut at pleasure. These interior waters, fed by numberless streams that have inundated their banks, are absolutely discoloured by the alluvial matter thus poured into them, and which they deposite on the shores. This mud during three or four years is too soft to admit of cultivation. First, however, weeds begin to spring, which are gradually followed by coarse luxuriant grass; and the surface being then fit for the plough, yields, for a succession of years, most luxuriant crops either of wheat or of hay.*

While Canada is a corn-country, grazing in this province is the chief branch, for which it seems naturally adapted by its hilly surface and copious irrigation. Without receiving any especial care, the breeds of domestic animals are decidedly superior; the horned cattle being large, well formed, and suited for fattening, though they undergo that process somewhat too sparingly for an English taste. The butter and cheese made in the western districts might compete with the second class of our dairy produce. The sheep are numerous and thriving; their flesh good; but the wool is scanty and of inferior quality, though valuable for domestic use. The horses are small, but active and very serviceable. It is somewhat odd that the hogs, which in Canada are of an excellent kind, are here miserable in the extreme, though some efforts are now making to improve them.

While grain is thus a secondary object in Nova Scotia, the defect is particularly conspicuous in wheat, its finest species. Though reared with advantage even in Lower

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 351, 361-363. Moorsom, p. 184-188. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 146, 147.

Canada, it succeeds here only partially and at great expense. Large crops are raised in some of the dyked enclosures; but elsewhere it is found liable to rust and other casualties, which render the result very precarious. It is alleged, indeed, that, with more careful and skilful culture, these evils might be avoided; but this improvement can scarcely be expected for a long time to come. Though the farming of Lower Canada is by no means such as it ought to be, the more common kinds of grain are raised easily and of good quality. The difference appears to consist, not in the temperature, which is even higher in Nova Scotia, but in the broken weather during spring and early summer, the alternations of frost and thaw, and the chilling fogs from the Atlantic. The hardier species of oats, rye, and barley, being found quite congenial, are produced very abundantly. The climate of the western districts ripens even Indian corn, though it is sometimes nipt by the autumnal frosts; and this circumstance gives to it a curious pre-eminence over England, where that grain cannot be brought to maturity. Beans are advantageously grown in the intervales. Potatoes are said to be actually superior to those grown in any other part of America, the native seat of that valuable root; and if so, they must be at least equal to any in the world. They form accordingly a staple culture, averaging 200 bushels an acre. Culinary vegetables are generally good. The climate is fitted for various fruits, provided attention be paid to them, which it seldom is; however, not only apples, but plums, pears, quinces, cherries, and, in very favourable situations, even peaches and grapes, may be grown in the open air. The greatest value, however, is attached to that species of apple called winter fruit, well adapted for cider, which is made largely in the western districts, and a good deal even exported.*

The mode of agriculture differs in few particulars

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 366-375. Moorsom, p. 196-203. M'Gregor, vol ii. pp. 146, 147.

from that practised in Canada. The bringing in of new lands takes place on a smaller scale, Nova Scotia being the resort of comparatively few emigrants, though its own increased population is rapidly spreading over it. The system of *aboiteau* continues to be employed for forming many portions of fertile land. More extensive upland tracts are improved by the laborious process already described of cutting and burning; the expense of which, when executed by hired labourers, is estimated by M. Bouchette to vary from £3 to £4, 10s. per acre. This high rate appears to arise from the comparatively small number of immigrant labourers, while most of the natives aspire to occupy a farm of their own. The few workmen are chiefly farmers' sons still residing with their parents, who engage themselves at high wages for the summer, or for the busiest part of harvest. The operations are said to be performed hurriedly and with little attention to neatness; indeed it can scarcely be otherwise when hired servants are so few, and the season for their employment so short. The difficulty of a market is also considerable. Even at Windsor, a sale in general cannot be effected at less than six months' credit, and by taking a proportion of the price in goods. The neglect of manure was long as great as on the St Lawrence; but the recent spirit of improvement has led to the general use of that furnished by live-stock, and even, in many instances, of the lime with which the country abounds.*

Throughout Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, the number of acres in crop was reported in 1827 not to exceed 327,676, while 9,668,801 remained still uncultivated. The corn produced did not appear to be above 655,175 bushels, of which only 173,712 were wheat, the rest consisting of other grains not specified; but there were 3,766,827 bushels of potatoes and 178,371 tons of hay. The horned cattle amounted to 127,642;

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 57. Moorsom, p. 205-209. Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 370, 371.

horses, 14,074; sheep, 197,375; hogs, such as they are, 80,223.*

The mineral products of Nova Scotia are extensive and valuable, forming already a large proportion of its exports, and promising to rise rapidly in importance. Coal, the most useful of any, particularly abounds, and has its value greatly enhanced by the great demand for it over the whole of the American continent. The chief bed, on the northern coast near Pictou, is estimated to comprehend an area of about 100 square miles; but this space is intersected by large dykes and interrupted by *faults*, so that the actual extent is not yet ascertained. There is some reason to think that it may stretch considerably farther, though sunk too deep to have yet been traced. It has a glossy, jet black appearance, is highly charged with bitumen, melts and cakes like that of Newcastle, and when the tar is dissipated, burns like coke. It is extremely well adapted for manufactures, especially in iron. Farther east, near Pomket and Dorchester, copious indications of this mineral have been discovered, but not yet examined. In Cumberland also, pretty large veins have been traced, though the quality is not uniformly good.

Cape Breton is equally distinguished for its stores of this precious mineral. The Sydney coal-field, extending along the coast from the capital to Miray Bay, and thence inland to the great entrance of the Bras d'Or, is estimated to contain 120 square miles of workable coal. It is generally of excellent quality, and in great part adapted for domestic use as well as for manufactures. In the western district of this island, too, there appears to be a considerable bed, though not yet scientifically explored.

Both the Pictou and the Sydney fields are extensively worked by a body called the Albion Mining Company, formed by Messrs Rundell, Bridge, and Company, jewellers, London, who, we believe, held them from the late

* Tables for 1832, p. 20.

Duke of York, to whom those of Nova Scotia had been granted. They have now merged in the General Mining Association, who, for the annual payment of £3000 to government, have a right also to those of Cape Breton. This body now hold, with a few reservations, all the mines in the colony on a lease of sixty years; a circumstance which has been considered by some as unfavourable, while others argue that the capital of so wealthy a company could not otherwise have been brought to bear upon such an object. In the mines of Nova Scotia they are said to have invested £130,000, with which piers have been constructed, railroads laid down, steam-engines, mills, shops, and houses erected, and about 500 men employed. The produce of the Pictou field in 1835 was 14,820 chaldrons, of the Sydney 22,877; valued together at £30,274. This was somewhat less than in 1832 and 1833. From Nova Scotia 11,785 chaldrons were exported to the United States; from Cape Breton 9125 were sent to Nova Scotia; 4617 to other parts of British America; and 8942 to the United States.*

The object next in importance is the calcareous formation usually called gypsum, and sometimes plaster of Paris from the large deposite under that capital. The copious beds found in Hants and other western districts have been already described. In the United States it is highly prized as a manure, and the quantity exported thither varies very considerably. In 1832 it was 35,508 tons; in 1833 it had risen to 92,590; in 1835 had fallen to 32,678; but 11,113 were then sent to other colonies. It is valued at about 6s. 6d. per ton.

Of the sandstone which abounds in the province, one species, from its hard texture and high polish, proves extremely useful as grindstones, and is celebrated over

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 421, 429, 430. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 135, 136. Jackson and Alger, Mineralogy and Geology of Nova Scotia (4to, Cambridge, America, 1832), p. 77. Bouchette, p. 83. Bliss, p. 40. The information relative to 1835 here, and in the rest of the chapter, is derived from highly respectable private sources.

America under the appellation of "Nova Scotia blue grits." It is found chiefly in the county of Cumberland between the coal and limestone, forming a stratum about forty-four feet thick. Mr Haliburton states that about 1800 tons are annually exported to the States, where it brings from fourteen to eighteen dollars per ton. It was valued in 1835 at £10,000. There is abundance of excellent freestone, for which the circumstances of the country do not yet create much demand. The same may be said of the lime, which has been discovered lying in vast beds underneath the coal.*

The metallic wealth of Nova Scotia is also considerable, though, from the scarcity of capital and high price of labour, it is not yet turned to much account. The coal-field of Pictou is interspersed with abundant and valuable ores, particularly of clay ironstone. Along the South Mountain extending west of Annapolis river and basin, there runs a thick vein of ore differing in some respects from that just mentioned; having a slaty structure, abounding with organic remains, and being rich in metal. Its continuity has not been fully traced; but from the number of places at which it has been seen, there seems little doubt that this failure is solely owing to the dense covering of forest which overspreads that part of the country. With the view of working this vein, there was formed in 1825 the Annapolis Iron Company, who at considerable expense have formed works, one at Nictau, in the upper part of the township, and another more advantageously situated eight miles from the capital. The latter has afforded a considerable quantity of very fine ore; but doubts are yet entertained whether the great expenses incidental to the situation will not preclude a profitable competition with British iron. There are also considerable veins connected with the eastern coal-field of Cape Breton, but none of them are yet opened. Very fine ores of cop-

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 431, 432. Tables 1832, p. 19; 1833, p. 11; 1835, p. 13.

per are diffused over a great extent of the north-western part of Nova Scotia, though in too small quantities to encourage working. Hopes are, however, entertained that these may be connected with a large bed at some depth beneath the surface.*

Fishery naturally forms an important branch of the industry of a country so well fitted for it by the great reach of its coasts and its numerous and deep bays. The adjoining banks also, though not possessing the extreme richness of those of Newfoundland, are very productive. It is accordingly prosecuted to a great extent, but chiefly in little barks fitted out from different parts of the island, and by individuals who combine it with the very dissimilar pursuit of farming. Many of the fishermen too are so poor that their vessels and tackle must be furnished by others, to whom they account for the produce. They have also a severe competition to encounter. By the treaty of 1783, explained by a convention in 1818, the Americans enjoy the right of fishing, if not less than three miles from the shore, and even of putting into the harbours, should they stand in need of repairs, wood, or water. The New Englanders, possessing a larger capital and making fishery a separate business, carry it on more skilfully, and, it is said, draw a greater produce from the seas surrounding Nova Scotia than the natives themselves. The stranger approaching the coast sees it bordered by long lines of shallops busied in drawing up the treasures of the deep; but he learns with surprise that, so far from having any connexion with the country which lies before him, they belong to a rival state three or four hundred miles distant. It is alleged also, that by loosening a jib-boom, or by emptying water-casks during the night, they easily reduce themselves to such a state of distress, as may entitle them under the act to enter a harbour. An active barter

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 163, 164, 448-452. Jackson and Alger, pp. 74, 75, 83, 84.

then commences, and articles suited to the market are exchanged for the best of the fish taken by the natives. This, however, though it may injure the revenue, must often be advantageous to the fishermen, who thereby obtain a readier return for their produce than by the tedious process of curing and exporting. On the whole, without entering into difficult questions of maritime international law, we may observe that a positive agreement, even if rashly made, seems scarcely to admit of remedy; and we may hope that the advancing industry and capital of the country will ultimately prove more than equal, on its own shores, to the enterprise of rivals carrying on the fishery under so many local disadvantages.

The different seats and objects of this branch of industry have been pointed out in the local description. The species are chiefly cod, herrings, and mackerel; but the two last are almost exclusively for home consumption,—cod, wet or dry, being the only important article of export. In 1832, it appears that 570 ships and 640 boats were employed, producing 170,455 quintals of dry and 37,488 barrels, 111 tierces, and 72 kegs, of pickled fish, the value of the whole being reckoned at £173,000.* In 1835, the number of vessels of all kinds was 1698, the produce 209,409 quintals dry and 61,132 pickled fish; value of both £201,702, 14s.

Attempts have been made to carry on more distant fisheries; but the great capital and high wages required render it difficult to do so with profit. According to Mr M'Gregor, bounties have been necessary to enable the people to compete with the Americans on the coast of Labrador. We have not in any account of provincial expenditure discovered such an item, which we presume, therefore, has been at all events discontinued. Very spirited efforts have been made in the arduous

* Young, British North American Colonies, p. 40-54. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 20.

department of the whale-fishery. By a report to the House of Assembly, dated 8th March 1833, it appears that, since 1825, three thousand tons of shipping had been fitted out for this destination. The vessels had been equipped at an expense of from £8000 to £10,000 each; they had returned from their first voyage, and two were now on their second and third; but the heavy expense of supplying imported articles and engaging foreign masters had rendered the adventure unprofitable. Hopes were held out, however, that, as native seamen became familiar to the trade, it might return a full remuneration. On this statement it was resolved that a bounty of £2 per ton should be granted to the first six vessels of not less than 200 tons which should be employed for two years in a South Sea voyage. The seal-fishery also, which has been attended with so much advantage to Newfoundland, has recently attracted the attention of this colony. By a report in 1833, it appears that the trade had for four years been successfully carried on by about twenty vessels from Cape Breton on the shores and islands of the Gulf of St Lawrence; but that those which proceeded from Halifax, Lunenburg, and Liverpool, to the north of St John, Newfoundland, had to contend with tempestuous seas and other difficulties, which had induced many to retire from so hazardous an enterprise. The legislature hereupon granted 15s. per ton on all vessels above fifty tons, and 10s. on all under that burthen, which should be occupied in this fishery. The export of train and spermaceti oil amounted in 1835 to 130,636 gallons, valued at £10,950; that of seal skins to 15,639, value, £1433.*

Timber in its various forms is a large, though perhaps not increasing, staple of the province. It is brought in a greater or less quantity down nearly all the rivers which

* Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia 1835, pp. 432, 450. Appendix, pp. 25, 26. Colonial Tables 1835, p. 12.

reach the sea on the eastern and northern shores. On the first are La Have, Port Medway, and Liverpool; on the other, Pictou and Port Wallace, with many others enumerated in our local survey. This country cannot, indeed, boast those magnificent pine forests which in New Brunswick enrich the banks of the St Croix and the Miramichi; but the birch growing in Pictou is reckoned the best in North America. The chief export is of wood cut down into its smaller forms, as deals, battens, boards, planks, staves, and shingles; amounting in 1832 to £93,888; in 1833 to £82,144; in 1834 to £122,897;* in 1835 to £115,148. The particulars relative to 1834 are given below with the other exports.

In regard to commerce, that of the British colonies was long fettered by several impolitic restrictions. They were considered by the mother-country solely as an estate to be managed for her benefit, and from which the utmost possible amount of profit was to be drawn, without any regard to reciprocal advantage. Even the great Lord Chatham had such benighted views on this subject, that he denied the right of the colonists to make even a nail for themselves. This illiberal system, however, injured herself to a degree which the small profit derived from the compulsory passage of their goods through her ports by no means compensated. The prevalence of sounder views and the urgency of political circumstances induced successive relaxations, particularly in regard to the conveyance of timber and fish to the Mediterranean and the West Indies. At length, by an act passed in 1825, all the weightier restrictions were removed, and the colonies were placed, as to trade, on the same footing with other parts of the British empire. Halifax, and afterwards Pictou, were then declared free warehousing ports; and the provinces generally enjoyed for some years the

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 168. Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 54. Tables 1832, p. 19; 1833, p. 11; 1834, p. 11; 1835, p. 12.

exclusive trade with the West Indies; for though the Americans were offered access to it on condition of putting our commerce on the footing of the most favoured nations, they did not for some time accede to the proffered terms. Towards the close of 1830, however, they withdrew their prohibitions, in consequence of which, on the 5th November, the Order in Council was recalled, and their commodities, with the exception of fish, were allowed to be imported at moderate rates into those islands. This, in 1831, caused a falling off in the shipping employed by the colonies in this trade from 95,205 tons to 58,540 inwards, and from 95,196 to 75,896 outwards, while the American tonnage rose from 5366 to 48,845 tons. The northern settlements, however, it appears have stood the competition very well, since in 1833 they sent to the West Indies a value of £509,476, while the American amount was only £415,130. In regard to Nova Scotia, while in 1830, previous to the readmission of the republicans, the tonnage employed in this trade was 28,545 inwards and 24,800 outwards, in 1835 it had risen to 34,320 inwards and 38,022 outwards.*

The advantageous situation of this province, particularly of its Atlantic coast, extends its trade beyond the mere exchange of its own produce for that of other countries. Being the part of British America nearest to Europe, to the West Indies, and to the United States, it serves, in a good measure, as we have already stated, the purpose of an entrepôt between them and the other colonies. Accordingly we shall see in the following tables that her exports include large amounts of sugar, rum, wine, and even tea, the produce of distant lands.

The tables here subjoined of exports and imports for 1834, including every particular of any importance, have been published by authority.

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 377-383. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 152, 153. Bliss, pp. 88, 93-108. Colonial Tables 1833, p. 165.

STATEMENT OF THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF VARIOUS ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE

IMPORTED INTO THE COLONY OF NOVA SCOTIA DURING THE YEAR 1834.

Description of Goods.		Quantity.	Value in Sterling Money.	
			£	£
Apparel and slops	value	..	..	6,723
Bacon and hams, foreign,	lbs.	12,302	..	220
Beef and pork, British and Colonial,	barrels	352	..	800
.... Foreign	..	3,145	..	8,608
Beer and ale	gallons	14,385	..	1,121
Books	value	..	..	2,265
Brass and copper, British	..	..	..	266
Bread and biscuit, British and Colonial	barrels	140	..	175
.... Foreign	..	3,820	..	3,638
Butter, British and Colonial	firkins	4	..	5
.. Foreign	..	234	..	301
Cabinet and upholstery ware	value	..	..	1,711
Candles, British and Colonial	boxes	762	..	1,452
.. Foreign	..	561	..	622
Cheese, British	lbs.	4,200	..	136
.. Foreign	..	1,570	..	24
Clocks and watches	value	..	..	337
Coals	tons	2,583	..	1,212
Coffee, Colonial	lbs.	166,880	..	6,258
.. Foreign	..	129,970	..	4,100
Copper, sheet and old	..	76,679	..	3,393
Cordage	cwts.	4,852	..	7,473
Corn, Indian corn, foreign	..	19,865	3,311	..
.. Other grain, British and Colonial	bushels	2,340	404	..
.. .... Foreign	..	27,856	5,323	..
.. Wheat-flour, foreign	barrels	33,675	47,146	..
.. Indian corn meal, Colonial	..	718	614	..
.. .... Foreign	..	26,643	22,585	..
Total value of grain, meal, and flour		..	..	79,383
Cotton wool, Colonial	lbs.	9,945	..	216
Cotton manufactures, British	yards	1,202,861	30,276	..
.. Not entered by the yard, British	value	..	4,499	..
.. .. Foreign and East India	..	..	260	..
Total value of cotton manufactures		..	..	35,035
Dye and hard woods, mahogany	logs	530	2,343	..
.... Other sorts	tons	245	2,907	..
	pieces	474		
Total value of dye and hard woods		..	..	5,250
Earthenware and chinaware, British	value	..	..	2,328
Fishing tackle	..	..	..	4,180
Fruits of all sorts, fresh	..	..	..	1,036
.... dry	..	..	..	3,421
Glass, window, British	cwts.	59,883	3,722	..
.. Flint	..	16,977	1,216	..
.. Bottles	..	93,360	694	..
.. Plate, and other kinds	value	..	138	..
.. .. Foreign	..	..	350	..
Total value of glass		..	..	6,120
Guns	number	81	..	172
Gunpowder	lbs.	5,791	..	210
Haberdashery, British	value	..	..	10,939
Hardware and cutlery, British	..	..	..	8,947
Hats, beaver and felt	..	..	3,262	..
.. Straw and Leghorn	..	..	904	..
.. .... Foreign	..	..	250	..
Total value of hats	..	..	..	4,416
Carry forward,		..	..	£214,484

Description of Goods.		Quantity.	Value in Sterling Money.	
Brought forward,		..		£214,484
Hemp	tons	96	..	2,880
Hides and skins, hides of all sorts	number	3,765	..	1,424
.... goat	..	181.324	..	3,227
Indigo	lbs.	2,500	..	625
Iron, bar and pig, British	..	1,347,240	..	3,797
.. Wrought	value	..	..	13,037
.. .... Foreign	..	..	..	155
Lead, British	lbs.	54,185	..	407
Leather, British and Colonial	..	23,968	..	1,532
.. Manufactures of British	value	..	..	3,554
.. .... Foreign	..	..	..	270
Linen manufactures, British	yards	208,085	9,382	..
.. British, not entered by the yard	value	..	1,652	..
.. Foreign, not entered by the yard	..	..	500	..
Total value of linen manufactures		..	..	11,534
Molasses, British and Colonial	gallons	723,800	..	42,922
.... Foreign	..	19,780	..	1,205
Musical instruments	value	..	..	421
Oakum	lbs.	66,683	..	592
Oil, olive	gallons	11,088	..	2,411
.. Train and spermaceti	..	120,423	..	25,581
Painters' colours	value	..	..	1,712
Pepper, East India	lbs.	9,720	..	202
Pickles	value	..	..	348
Pimento	lbs.	43,432	..	724
Rice	..	398,774	..	2,492
Saddlery and harness	value	..	..	826
Salt, British and Colonial	bushels	305,654	..	4,307
.. Foreign	..	21,486	..	1,327
Silk manufactures, British	value	..	10,204	..
.... Foreign & East India	..	..	50	..
Total value of silk manufactures		..	..	10,254
Soap, British and Colonial	boxes	4,330	..	3,840
.. Foreign	..	252	..	176
Spirits, British Colonial	gallons	1,084	438	..
.. Rum, British Possessions	..	688,550	6 19	..
.. Cordials	..	780	48	..
.. Brandy, Geneva, and other foreign spirits	..	29,519	5,746	..
Total value of spirits	..	..	..	69,351
Stationery of all sorts, including paper	value	..	..	4,288
Sugar, raw, Colonial	lbs.	4,262,496	..	47,573
.. .. Foreign	..	486,108	..	8,273
.. refined, British	..	160,117	..	3,031
Tallow, foreign	casks	137	..	2,394
Tea	lbs.	1,251,480	..	138,887
Tobacco, unmanufactured	..	228,300	..	3,815
.... Manufactured, and snuff, British and Colonial	value	..	..	250
.... Foreign	..	..	..	592
Vegetables, potatoes	..	..	..	18
Wine of all sorts	gallons	42,705	..	7,667
Wood and lumber, staves and heading	number	901,732	7,540	..
.... Other wood	value	..	7,670	..
Total value of wood and lumber		..	..	15,210
Woollen manufactures:—				
Entered by the piece, British	pieces	6,198	15,769	..
Entered by the yard ..	yards	41,124	3,753	..
Other sorts	value	..	2,110	..
Total value of woollen manufactures		..	..	21,632
Miscellaneous articles	value	..	..	25,370
Total value of imports into the colony		..	..	£703,917

STATEMENT OF THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF VARIOUS ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE

EXPORTED FROM THE COLONY OF NOVA SCOTIA DURING THE YEAR 1834.

Description of Goods.		Quantity.	Value in Sterling Money.	
			£	£
Bacon and hams, British and Colonial	lbs.	16,428	..	319
Beef and pork	barrels	4,971	..	12,416
Beer and ale	gallons	4,456	..	297
Bread and biscuit, British and Colonial	cwts.	402	..	584
Butter	kegs	705	..	2,091
	firkins	490		
Coals	tons	13,085	..	13,084
Cheese, British and Colonial	lbs.	27,684	..	555
Corn	bushels	6,208	638	..
.. Wheat-flour, Colonial	barrels	7,795	11,374	..
.. .... Foreign	..	50	75	..
.. Other sorts of meal, Colonial	..	64½	585	..
Total value of corn and meal				12,672
Dye and hard woods, logwood	tons	169½	..	678
.... mahogany	..	252	..	1,257
Fish, cod, dry	quintals	149,794½	..	82,648
.. .. wet	barrels	52,158	..	41,598
.. Herrings	boxes	3,685	..	495
	barrels	194		
.. Mackerel	..	406	..	319
.. Salmon	..	1,406¼	..	2,713
.. Other sorts	value	..	..	116
Fruits	..	..	..	1,104
Furs	..	..	..	5,145
Gypsum	tons	55,475½	..	20,803
Hides and skins, hides	number	12,327	8,136	..
.... Seal skins	..	35,325	3,091	..
.... Other sorts	value	..	1,014	..
Total value of hides and skins				12,241
Iron, unwrought	tons	500	..	3,250
.. wrought	value	..	..	565
Live stock, neat cattle	number	4	..	32
.... Sheep and swine	..	280	..	256
Molasses	gallons	211,855	..	13,241
Oil, train and spermaceti	..	179,847	..	15,824
Pimento	lbs.	51,400	..	1,054
Salt	bushels	2,793	..	99
Rice	lbs.	95,400	..	795
Spirits, rum	gallons	23,170	..	1,930
.. Brandy, and other sorts	..	628	..	128
Sugar, raw	cwts.	772,686	..	7,211
Tea	lbs.	5,700	..	712
Tobacco, unmanufactured, Colonial	..	60,200	..	753
.... manufactured, foreign	value	..	..	559
Vegetables of all sorts	..	..	..	3,817
Whalebone	lbs.	13,000	..	520
Wine of all sorts	gallons	2,669	..	534
Wood and lumber, pine timber	tons	5,126	5,126	..
.... Ash, birch, &c.	..	24,847	27,325	..
.... Masts, yards, &c.	number	2,227	1,047	..
.... Oars	..	7,440	573	..
.... Deals and deal-ends, battens, boards, and planks	feet	23,907,410	59,837	..
	number	3,118		
			93,908	
Carry forward,		..		£262,265

Description of Goods.	Quantity.	Value in Sterling Money.
Brought forward,	..	£93,903 262,265
Wood & lumber Shingles	4,678,099	3,747 ..
.... Lathwood feet	450	630 ..
.... Staves number	2,804,727	21,781 ..
.... Other sorts of wood value	..	2,831 ..
Total value of wood	..	122,897
Miscellaneous articles	..	.. 19,485
Total	..	.. £404,647

STATEMENT OF THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF VARIOUS ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE

IMPORTED INTO THE COLONY OF CAPE BRETON DURING THE YEAR 1834.

Description of Goods.	Quantity.	Value in Sterling Money	
		£	£
Bread and biscuit, British and Colonial barrels	440	..	385
.... Foreign ..	264	..	206
Cabinet and upholstery ware value	..	..	26
Cheese, foreign lbs.	2,072	..	34
Cordage cwts.	240	..	482
Corn, British and Colonial bushels	14	3	..
.. Foreign ..	83	10	..
.. Wheat-flour, British and Colonial barrels	35	44	..
.. .... Foreign ..	871	1,428	..
.. Indian corn meal, foreign ..	1,152	1,124	..
Total value of grain, meal, and flour			2,609
Cotton wool, Colonial lbs.	200	..	8
Fishing tackle value	..	..	80
Fruits of all sorts, fresh ..	..	..	29
.... dry ..	..	..	73
Glass, plate, and other kinds, foreign ..	..	..	2
Hats, straw and Leghorn ..	..	..	2
Hemp tons	½	..	20
Hides and skins, hides of all sorts number	3	..	6
Indigo lbs.	120	..	27
Iron, wrought, foreign value	..	..	9
Lead, British lbs.	249	..	14
.. Foreign ..	583	..	29
Leather manufactures, British value	..	..	8
.... Foreign ..	..	..	3
Linen, British, not entered by the yard ..	..	..	23
Molasses, British and Colonial gallons	6,900	..	388
Oakum lbs.	2,240	..	20
Oil, olive gallons	165	..	28
Rice lbs.	12,120	..	79
Salt, British and Colonial bushels	6,600	..	306
.. Foreign ..	4,480	..	49
Soap, foreign boxes	2	..	1
Spirits, rum, British plantation gallons	18,259	1,714	..
Brandy, Geneva, and other foreign spirits ..	1,057	174	..
Total value of spirits			1,888
Sugar, raw, Colonial lbs.	7,304	..	140
Tobacco, foreign value	..	..	95
Wine of all sorts gallons	9,009	..	312
Wood value	..	..	476
Miscellaneous articles ..	..	..	2,644
Total value of imports into the colony,	..	..	£10,501

STATEMENT OF THE QUANTITY AND VALUE OF VARIOUS ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE

EXPORTED FROM THE COLONY OF CAPE BRETON DURING THE YEAR 1834.

Description of Goods.		Quantity.	Value in Sterling Money.	
			£	£
Beef and pork, British and Colonial	barrels	87	..	259
Butter	firkins	56	..	173
Coals	tons	8,374	..	6,068
Corn	bushels	142	..	11
Fish, cod, dry	quintals	12,329	..	8,795
.. .. wet	barrels	1,676	..	1,377
.. salmon	..	50	..	150
Fruits	value	..	..	2
Hides and skins, hides	number	72	72 ..	
.... Seal skins	..	400	60 ..	
.... Other sorts	value	..	4 ..	
Total value of hides and skins				136
Iron, unwrought	tons	14	..	65
.. wrought	value	..	..	126
Oil, train and spermaceti	gallons	22,697	..	1,148
Vegetables of all sorts	value	..	..	49
Wood and lumber, oak timber	tons	100	120 ..	
.... Pine timber	..	3,024	2,468 ..	
.... Ash, birch, &c.	..	120	131 ..	
.... Masts, yards, &c.	number	82	21 ..	
.... Oars	..	243	24 ..	
.... Deals and deal-ends, battens, boards, and planks	feet / number	2,873 / 50	30 ..	
.... Shingles	..	12,500	8 ..	
.... Staves	..	27,581	90 ..	
.... Other sorts of wood	value	..	132 ..	
Total value of wood				3,024
Miscellaneous articles	..	..	..	804
Total	..	..	..	£22,187

We can now present our readers with the following table for the year 1835, which will not only bring down the information to a later period, but exhibit in a more detailed and interesting view the intercourse with each particular country.

I. EXPORTS.

	Value.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Britain	£86,719 13 7	105	27,703	1,205
North American Colonies	349,621 4 3	1301	76,161	4,162
British West Indies	228,498 7 0	390	38,022	2,224
United States	102,260 15 8	767	67,600	3,213
Prince Edward Island	35,868 0 0	74	3,255	176
Brazil	9,761 11 9	9	1,255	70
Italy	3,771 5 0	2	400	19
Spain	3,190 11 0	2	294	21
Gibraltar, &c.	2,980 10 0	2	179	12
The Azores	3,403 2 6	4	341	20
St Thomas	1,924 15 0	3	283	15
	£827,999 15 9	2659	215,493	11,137

II. IMPORTS.

	Value.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Britain	£220,735 13 7	86	23,217	1,174
American Colonies	157,236 0 0	1211	75,719	4,098
West Indies	212,349 9 3	352	34,320	2,016
United States	113,518 4 0	755	70,859	3,440
Prince Edward Island	14,409 15 0	93	4,435	219
Canton	54,236 0 0	1	270	13
Calcutta and Mauritius	3,472 0 0	1	187	10
Gibraltar	4,730 2 6	1	110	5
The Azores	1,515 14 6	5	415	22
Spain	85 0 0	1	126	7
Hamburg	4,451 15 0	2	275	16
Bremen (ballast)		2	306	13
Jersey	539 5 0	2	182	12
Porto Rico	5,923 10 0	3	368	24
Hayti	1,412 0 0	2	276	16
Havannah	606 0 0	1	138	10
Brazil	15 0 0	2	166	12
St Thomas	18 0 0	2	146	11
St Pierre and Miquelon	25 0 0	1	67	4
	£795,278 8 10	2523	211,582	11,122

As the tables for 1834, in respect to particular colonies, do not distinguish the countries to and from which the articles were exported, some notices of this kind, in regard to them, will, we conceive, be interesting.

To Britain the exports of Nova Scotia are chiefly wood, of which, in 1835, the leading articles were 1,216,892 feet deals; 15,052 tons of timber; 48,385 feet birch plank, with 2025 oars. To these may be added 187 barrels of pickled fish, and 606 casks of oil. In return she imported almost all her manufactured articles in woollen, linen, cotton, hardware, apparel, haberdashery, and such like; also most of her wine, to the amount in 1835 of 281 hhds. and 217 quarter-casks; Geneva, 132 hhds.; also about 10,000 quarters wheat.

To the West Indies the exports consisted of 161,962 quintals dry and 41,815 barrels pickled fish; lumber in different shapes; 4820 barrels pork; 8973 barrels wheat-flour, oats, bread, butter, cheese, onions, herrings, and similar articles. In return were received rum, 6392 puncheons; sugar, 1993 hhds., 409 tierces, 1721 barrels; coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and cigars.

To the other North American colonies Nova Scotia sent in 1835 gypsum to the amount of 11,113 tons;

wheat-flour, 16,507 barrels, doubtless re-exported from the United States. She exported also innumerable articles, the produce of Britain and the West Indies, of which, from her commercial activity, she has become the depôt for these countries. Fish, under different circumstances, is both exported and imported, the former to the amount of 12,943 quintals dry and 9068 barrels pickled; the latter being not less than 40,337 quintals dry and 13,602 barrels pickled. She received also, chiefly we suppose from New Brunswick and for re-exportation, large quantities of deals, boards, and other timber.

To the United States the chief articles sent are coals, which in 1835 amounted to 11,785 chaldrons; gypsum, 32,678 tons; grindstones, 91 tons, 33,670 No.; hams, 14,385; seal-skins, 10,563; oats, 5993 bushels; a considerable quantity of herrings, salmon, and oysters; codfish, 6966 quintals dry, and 6809 barrels pickled. In return were received 20,746 bushels wheat; 12,228 rye; 5940 Indian meal; staves, 1,495,600; shingles, 423,600; some beef and pork; and a few candles and hats.

To the other parts of America, and chiefly to Brazil, this province sends 16,145 quintals dry fish; to St Thomas, 1742 barrels pickled fish; while from Porto Rico she receives sugar and molasses; from St Domingo, logwood and mahogany; from the Havannah, coffee, cigars, and sugar.

With reference to Europe, exclusive of Britain, there were exported to Italy 5780 quintals dry fish; to Spain 5801 quintals; to the Azores, 160, with boards and staves; to Gibraltar, coffee, logwood, and similar commodities. From Gibraltar and the Azores she took the value above stated chiefly in wine; from Spain a very small quantity; from Hamburg, beans, bread, furniture, and wine.

From Calcutta and the Mauritius, one vessel brought a cargo of champagne, wax-candles, sperm oil, pepper, tea, and other luxuries. One from China brought tea to the value of £54,236, with which this colony appears in a great measure to have supplied those adjoining to it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Social and Political State of Nova Scotia.

Population — Anglo-Americans — Scots in Pictou — Acadians — Negroes — Indians — Religious Professions — Education — Political Constitution — Judicial Establishment — Revenue — Military Defence.

THE statistics of Nova Scotia, in regard to population as well as to other particulars, are less advanced than those of the sister colonies. No census has been taken since 1827, when one, said to be very accurate, gave 123,848. A previous enumeration, in 1817, had shown only 82,053. This would indicate an increase of fifty per cent. in ten years; and if we suppose the same rate of progression to have continued, it will have produced in 1837 upwards of 180,000. We suspect, however, that the first census was less complete than the second; and also that immigration may have been somewhat diminished in consequence of the superior attraction of other provinces. We should hesitate, therefore, to estimate the present amount at more than 170,000. Cape Breton, overstated by Bouchette and Haliburton at 30,000, was found in 1827 to contain only 18,700, and at the same rate must have increased to 26,000 or 28,000. We shall thus have very nearly 200,000 for the population of this important colony.

Society in Nova Scotia has been composed of a great variety of elements. In Halifax and other populous districts, the inhabitants of British origin have shown a strong disposition to assimilate; but in the remoter settlements, founded by detached bodies from different countries, the

peculiarities of each have continued more unaltered than if they had remained in their native seats.

The Anglo-Americans, who emigrated in consequence of the revolution, form the most numerous class, and in a great measure give the tone to the whole. Coming generally from the northern and most improved states, they brought habits peculiarly serviceable in extending cultivation over a new country. Instead of that minute division of labour so well suited for carrying industry and skill to perfection in advanced communities, a settler of this order prides himself on fabricating every article with his own hands. If placed in any new situation, he learns whatever trade may be found necessary. He constructs the framework of his house, makes the farm-implements, and even shoes his horses. If situated on the coast of a river or bay, he builds a vessel, and carries his produce in it to market. This is not the way to accomplish the best work, and indeed should be discontinued as soon as possible ; but in infant settlements it is attended with great convenience. Not unfrequently, too, such a man takes delight in breaking up a fresh spot, disposing of it, and then proceeding to another.

The largest of the recent colonies is that already described as formed by the Scots in Pictou and other districts on the northern coast. The Highlanders, who chiefly compose it, are in some respects well fitted for this arduous undertaking. Their adventurous spirit and powers of endurance enable them to defy those first hardships which appear so formidable to other settlers. But when, by these exertions, they have supplied their most urgent wants, a spirit of contentment is apt to steal upon them, which becomes a bar to subsequent improvement. Provided they can secure those humble accommodations to which they were accustomed on their native mountains, and find themselves surrounded by their friends and countrymen, nothing seems wanting to their happiness. Among small parties who have remained in such a situation, the original character is said to be preserved with a purity which in Scotland has in

a great measure given way before the increased intercourse with other parts of the empire. Many of those who emigrated fifty years ago are still alive, and appear genuine representatives of the plaided warriors who fought at Culloden. The memory of the Stuarts, almost obliterated at home, is still deeply and tenderly cherished, though it no longer inspires any disloyal feelings towards the reigning dynasty. Almost every settlement has a piper to perform the rude martial music which once resounded in the glens of Rannoch and Lochaber; and at all festive meetings, the strathspeys and other Highland dances give occasion to exhibitions of almost preternatural agility.

It has, at the same time, been observed, that the Highlanders, when placed in contact with other settlers, cease to be so easily satisfied, and their pride inspires them with a desire to emulate, and even to excel. The Lowland Scots, by their steady habits, their desire to do well, and to advance themselves in the world, form a valuable accession to the colony. The Irish, with tastes directly opposite, seek oftener the immediate advantage afforded by good wages, than a remote independence, to be earned by toil and self-denial. Such immigrants, however, must be very convenient in a country where the want of labourers is so extreme. The English farmer, whose ideas of well-being consist so much in neatness, order, and cleanliness, can with difficulty be reconciled to a situation where work must be done so roughly and superficially. When not prematurely discouraged, however, perseverance enables him ultimately to triumph; and he then displays, within doors at least, those good qualities to which he attaches so much value. There is a considerable German colony established at Lunenburg, which Mr Haliburton represents as nearly assimilated to the other inhabitants; while Mr M'Gregor describes them as retaining their manners and even language completely unchanged. Of these very opposite statements we incline to prefer the latter, which seems a picture drawn from the life; while the other is pro-

bably suggested by observations made in the vicinity of Halifax.*

Another race, to whose wrongs and sufferings we again reluctantly advert, are the Acadians. In the local survey, the different sites have been pointed out, where the remnant of them are now settled; these are chiefly Clare, in Annapolis, Isle Madame and other spots in Cape Breton. They are substantially the same race with the French *habitans;* who, however, on account of their less polished habits, and also of frequent intermarriage with the Indians, frequently term them "les sauvages." A large proportion are employed in fishing, especially on Cape Breton, where the females work excessively hard, performing every task, after the men have merely caught and split the fish. In the rural districts, their dress and appearance resemble, with some small variations, those of their countrymen on the St Lawrence. The shafts of ridicule are effectively wielded in checking the slightest adoption of the costume of their conquerors. One youth having unwarily put on an English coat, lost for ever his own name, and acquired that of Joe Peacock. Those engaged in agriculture resemble the Canadians in their industry and economy, gayety at festivals, attendance at church, purity of morals, early marriages, and large families of fat chubby children.†

Another unfortunate race have at different times been thrown in considerable numbers on the shores of Nova Scotia. In the course of the American war, many negroes from the southern states sought an asylum there; and in 1792, the Sierra Leone Company, with a questionable philanthropy, conveyed 1200 of them to that part of the African continent. Many, however, fell victims to a climate no longer congenial to them; the rest became turbulent and unruly. Soon after, a desperate insurrection was raised in Jamaica by a body of independent blacks termed Maroons, who had established

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 279, 293-295. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 98, 99, 180-188.

† M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 199-203. Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 280.

themselves in an almost inaccessible retreat in the centre of the island, whence they committed dreadful ravages. Being overawed by the operations of Lord Balcarres and General Walpole, they at length surrendered, on condition of being conveyed to another colony, where they might receive lands. Nova Scotia was chosen; and the people there, on the arrival of these desperate rebels, were agreeably surprised to see a set of men not only handsome and vigorous, but in their appearance extremely neat and orderly. On the invitation of Prince Edward (Duke of Kent), they cheerfully agreed either to be enrolled for military service or labour at the fortifications, and were considered a valuable acquisition to the country. As the novelty wore off, however, and winter brought with it both privation and leisure, they fell into disorderly habits, despising industry, and spending their time in cards and cock-fighting. Several vain attempts being made to induce them to cultivate the soil, they in the end became entirely dependent on the British government, at an annual cost of no less than £10,000. It thus became a matter of urgent expediency that they also should be transported to Sierra Leone; and this was effected in 1800. The system, however, of making Nova Scotia an asylum for negroes was not yet renounced. In 1815, during the last American war, a considerable number of this class of fugitives were received on board the British squadrons, particularly in the Chesapeak. As they came, however, under the expectation of subsisting without hard labour, they were as useless as the others, and proved a mere burden on the colony, from which it was partially relieved in 1821 by the transportation of ninety of them to Trinidad.

Of each of these successive arrivals, some portions remained, which have now increased to the number of 3557, of whom 1726 are males and 1831 females. They have settlements of some extent laid out for them at Hammond's Plains and Prescott, both in the vicinity of Halifax; and yet they have never made any progress in cultivating the soil. The situation, indeed, of a settler

on wild lands, who must encounter much hard work with only distant returns, tries the perseverance of the most industrious European; it was, therefore, unfortunate that it should have fallen to the lot of individuals never accustomed to labour at all, except under the most stern compulsion. Almost the only benefit they derive from their grants is obtained by collecting the spontaneous produce, wild fruits and brooms, and bringing them to market. In all seasons of scarcity, their sufferings become deplorable, and pathetic appeals are made to the charity of the British government. Yet a certain number, who have engaged as domestic servants, and particularly as cooks on board ship, show themselves very useful. Even the principal horse-dealer in Halifax is said to be a negro.*

There remains yet another outcast race, namely, the original possessors of the country. The Indians here and in New Brunswick belong generally to one tribe, known under the name of *Micmacs*. In 1772, they were estimated at 865, and are supposed to have since decreased; but their present number has not been ascertained. Those who repair to Quebec to share in the annual distribution of presents, are stated by Major-general Darling at 652; though an official document shows that in 1827 there came only 196 Micmacs and 79 Amalicites, the latter chiefly from Ristigouche in New Brunswick. Doubtless, however, it is only a few who undertake so long and severe a journey. They are described as naturally inferior to the tribes on the lakes, and are now in a more forlorn and degraded condition. The hunting of the moose and cariboo, their only favourite pursuit, is much limited owing to the increased occupation of the country by Europeans. The offer of land is made to them, and several have established themselves on farms, where they rear in a slovenly manner a few cattle, but they shun all laborious culture. They do not, however, as sometimes supposed, abscond into remote and unfre-

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 204-208. Moorsom, p. 125-131. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 16.

quented regions; on the contrary, their favourite residence is the vicinity of the towns, where they find sale for their game, fish, and the little ornamental works which their females fabricate. In winter, indeed, the remoter woods and lakes are frequented for a plentiful supply of game; but from May to November, the smoke of a dozen wigwams in an adjoining cove indicates their vicinity to a populous place. Each of these abodes consists merely of a few poles placed upright and fastened at the top, the whole being then covered with birch bark, which renders it impervious to rain. Under these roofs, the squaws are said to sit whole days, framing ornamented baskets and other trifles of moose-hair or porcupine-quills, variously coloured, and wrought upon bark. Their canoes are often seen crossing from a camp opposite to Halifax, with articles to dispose of. On this voyage, listlessness and apathy characterize all their movements; and even on reaching the shore, a long talk is occasionally held in their unimpassioned tones, before landing. At length their goods are exposed on the bank; but when the squaw meets her female friends, her silence is instantly exchanged for loud laughter and loquacity, and every passing object becomes the theme of animated remark. The produce of their sales is too often expended on the means of intoxication; and scarcely any part is laid up for an evil day. This improvidence is heightened by a lavish hospitality, which makes them feel it incumbent to share whatever they have with any wandering countryman who may happen to join them. In periods of urgent distress, they repair to the government-house and implore aid from their father, as they call the governor, by whom their case is in general favourably considered.*

The religious professions in Nova Scotia, like the classes of the population, are extremely various, and none can be considered as possessing a numerical ascendency.

* Report on the Aboriginal Tribes (Parl. Paper, Aug. 14, 1834), p. 34. Moorsom, p. 111-117.

The following is given as the result of the census of 1827:—

Church of England,	28,659
Church of Scotland,	37,225
Dissenters from these two churches,	4,825
Roman Catholics,	20,401
Baptists,	19,790
Methodists,	9,403
Lutherans,	2,963
Quakers, Universalists, &c.	255
Doubtful,	317
	123,848

This does not include Cape Breton, the returns from which were not considered accurate; and from the increase of population, each of these numbers must now be considerably augmented, though they probably preserve very nearly the same relative proportion. Complete toleration is granted to all these sects; their members are equally eligible to public offices; none of them are required to contribute to the maintenance of the others; nor is support given to any out of the provincial revenue. The Church of England, however, is considered as the established one, and derives a portion of its funds through a society incorporated in 1701 for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. Notwithstanding this title, the object of the corporation in recent times has chiefly been to supply a body of regular clergy to the members of the episcopal communion settled in the North American colonies; in aid of which they were wont to receive an annual grant from the Imperial Parliament. Their teachers are termed missionaries, but, generally speaking, do not at all lead the wandering life which the name seems to imply; they are simply parish ministers, though with somewhat extensive charges. The country is divided into thirty-two parishes, and the rectors receive from £150 to £300 a-year from the society or from the crown; which, with glebes and fees, affords here a comfortable income. In 1787, Nova Scotia was erected into a bishopric, the head of which draws no

revenue from the colony, but holds merely a spiritual jurisdiction over the members of his own church. His diocese extends also over New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and the Bermudas.

The Presbyterian Church, formed chiefly by the great emigration from Scotland, appears, as above, the most numerous in the colony. The synod of Nova Scotia is divided into the presbyteries of Halifax, Pictou, and Cape Breton, and consists of seventeen members. They receive no support from government, but have since 1784 derived some aid from a society in Glasgow, though, as this last demands an entire union with the Church of Scotland, which all are not inclined to yield, some dissension is said to have arisen. The Roman Church consists of the Acadians, with some Irish settlers, and a few of the earlier Highland immigrants. The Indians also profess this faith, though without allowing it to work much change in their manners. The Catholics are governed by a bishop, resident at Antigonish or Dorchester, with twelve or thirteen subordinate priests, chiefly from Britain or France, as there is no seminary for their instruction in the province. Their adherents are said to be the least informed part of the community, and most completely under the control of their spiritual guides.

The Baptists are stated to have about thirty-five ministers of all classes. Their church-government is independent, the power residing entirely in the members of each particular congregation. They hold annually, however, a general conference, in which questionable points are amicably adjusted. The Wesleyan Methodists, a less numerous body, have fourteen of what they term *circuits*, in which twenty-eight missionaries are employed; but these embrace also Prince Edward Island. Once a-year is held, subordinate to the Conference in England, a general meeting, to which are transmitted such surplus funds as can be collected for missionary purposes, while aid is afforded in the maintenance of the poorer chapels. The Lutherans, we presume, consist of the German colony at Lunenburg. On the

whole, the system appears somewhat less liberal than in Upper Canada, nothing in the nature of an establishment being granted; though in the more remote districts, some aid to the contributions afforded by their poor and scattered inhabitants would certainly be desirable. It is at the same time stated, that the exertions made by the settlers, amid many difficulties, to provide themselves with religious instruction, are highly creditable.*

The people of Nova Scotia have always bestowed a particular attention on education, a provision for which, with the intelligence consequent on it, existed there when much neglected in other transatlantic colonies. The institution highest in dignity is the college at Windsor, which enjoys all the privileges of a university, being entitled to confer degrees and to teach the whole circle of the sciences. As yet, however, the funds have not been sufficient for founding more than four chairs. The parliamentary grant for its support was withdrawn in 1833, and it is now supported only by £200 from the provincial government, and £300 raised by subscription. A very illiberal clause, requiring from all students subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, has of late been repealed. The attendance, however, is by no means great, being reckoned in 1830 at twenty, and in 1833 having fallen to ten. Dalhousie College was founded in 1820 at Halifax, on the model of that of Edinburgh; and £9750 was invested in the three per cents. for its support, but this sum not being found sufficient to bring it into operation, it is now proposed to unite it to that of Windsor, as it seems inexpedient to maintain two such institutions for so young a country. The Presbyterians have formed an academy at Pictou, where the languages, as well as natural and moral philosophy, are taught. It receives a grant of £400 from the provincial government,

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 298-306. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 177-179. Moorsom, p. 132-140. Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 64-66. Oliver & Boyd's New Edinburgh Almanac and National Repository for 1839, p. 397.

with £60 of voluntary contributions, and was attended in 1833 by forty youths. There is also a Baptist seminary at Horton, attended by eighty students, and a grammar school at Annapolis, by sixty. The former, in 1833, received from government £85, the latter £150. There are at Halifax five public schools,—the National and St George's (on Dr Bell's plan), the Acadian (Lancasterian), the Catholic, and the Grammar School. These receive, in all, £550 from government and £600 from voluntary contributions, and are attended by 1100 scholars. There were besides, in 1835, over the country, 448 common schools, supported by £4667 from the provincial revenue, and £12,453 from private subscription. They were attended by 15,292 scholars, of whom 1153 were taught gratis. Forty schools are also supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.*

The constitution of this country does not differ very materially from that of Canada. The principal officer, in whom the executive power is invested, is termed only lieutenant-governor, and is considered subordinate to the governor-general at Quebec. The supremacy of the latter, however, has hitherto been exercised only in the general direction of military affairs during war: he interferes not in the civil jurisdiction. It has been not unusual to make the government of Nova Scotia an apprenticeship as it were to that of Canada; Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, the Earl of Dalhousie, and Sir James Kempt, having been raised from the one to the other. He ranks also as lieutenant-general, vice-admiral, and chancellor. His legislative and executive powers appear exactly the same as in Canada. The people have a singular check upon his mal-administration, in being allowed to prosecute him in the English court of Queen's Bench, though we are not aware that any such action has ever been raised.

The House of Assembly, as to functions and compo-

* Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 17, 55. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 174, 214. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 17; 1833, p. 9.

sition, does not differ from that in the other colonies. Of the ten counties, Halifax sends four members, and each of the others returns two; of the towns, the capital elects two, and seventeen others one each, making in all forty-one. It exercises the usual functions of a popular assembly, voting all taxes, and passing all laws, subject to the approbation of the council, governor, and sovereign. The council, twelve in number, was of a more anomalous description, uniting the character of a legislative with that of an executive or privy-council, and thus performing the duties which in Canada were divided between two separate bodies. This arrangement, however, being with some reason complained of, has recently been altered; and the functions are now performed by two distinct bodies. The members are appointed by the governor, subject to the royal approbation. In the event of the death or sudden absence of that officer, the senior councillor temporarily fills his place till a successor is appointed.

For the administration of justice, one supreme court discharges all the duties which in England are divided between the Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. It consists of a chief justice, three assistants, and a circuit associate. It sits four times a-year at Halifax, and performs four circuits. The acquirements, both of the judges and counsel, are said to be highly respectable. There is a chancery court, in which the governor, as chancellor, presides; but being usually a military man, he is not very well fitted for such a duty, and hence Sir James Kempt procured the appointment of a master of the rolls. It is regretted by many that the department was not entirely abolished, being one whose nature and tedious forms are ill suited to a new colony. The governor in council constitutes a court of error, or, more properly, of appeal, before which all causes involving an interest of more than £300 may be brought. Where an amount of £500 is at stake, there lies a further appeal to the king in council; arrangements which seem too much calculated to promote lengthened and costly litigation.

There is an admiralty court, embracing also the other colonies; and arrangements are made for a special commission to try cases of piracy; but during peace the business of these departments almost entirely ceases.

The local jurisdictions in Nova Scotia are somewhat numerous. In every province there is a court of common-pleas, for trying civil cases in the first instance. To render these more efficient, in 1824 three professional lawyers were named, each to preside over all the courts in a certain district. There is also a court of general sessions, corresponding to that of quarter-sessions in England. Justices of the peace may decide upon questions not exceeding £5, but subject to appeal. Lastly, every county has its sheriff, with powers similar to those of the same officer in England; both he and the justices are nominated by the governor. These numerous jurisdictions tend perhaps to feed the spirit of litigation which prevails in that country, and generally throughout America.*

The taxation, as in the other colonies, is extremely light, all the cost of defence being defrayed by Britain, and the inhabitants burdened only with the civil government and local improvements. The chief branches are the excise and customs, in both of which the rates are very moderate. The following was the amount in 1835:—

Excise,	£32,783	4	5
Customs,	11,969	0	3
Light-duties (4d. a-ton on shipping, &c.),	2,832	8	11
Old crown-duties,	2,052	18	0
Passenger act,	159	15	8
Revenue penalties,	232	4	0
Loans repaid,	299	16	9
Rent, coal-mines, Cape Breton,	3,000	0	0
Fees on patents,	813	16	6
Sales of crown lands,	781	4	11
	£54,924	9	5

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 317-339. Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 68, 69.

The following is the expenditure for the same year :—

Civil departments,	£7,756	14	0
Judicial,	6,051	10	0
Legislative,	2,773	10	0
Custom-house,	8,975	1	8
Militia,	1,521	7	4
Roads and bridges,	10,900	0	0
Education,	5,675	0	0
King's College,	400	0	0
Light-houses,	2,349	0	0
Interest of debt,	4,461	0	0
Posts,	1,066	0	0
Miscellaneous,	11,735	3	4
	£63,664	6	4

There are, besides, provincial assessments for roads, police, maintenance of the poor, and other local purposes. The following was the amount in 1835, distinguishing the respective provinces :—

Halifax District,	£5,448	2	4
Pictou,	1,167	1	10
Colchester,	442	10	0
Sydney,	718	12	5
Cape Breton,	623	2	11
King's,	797	8	7
Lunenburg,	468	10	11
Queen's,	461	8	9
Annapolis,	330	12	6
Shelburne,	451	19	0
Hants,	474	10	2
Cumberland,	104	15	9
	£11,488	15	2

The defence of the country, so far as it depends upon regular troops, is maintained by detachments of the British army, the expense of which is defrayed from the finances of the empire, and varies from £115,000 to £145,000 annually. There is, besides, as in the other colonies, a militia, in which all the male inhabitants, from sixteen to sixty, are required to enrol. The number, which in 1828 did not exceed 21,897, had risen in 1834 to 30,468, with 1255 officers. They are regularly formed into regiments and battalions; but as the days of training are

now only two in the year, and few are even supplied with muskets, it is obvious that they can possess nothing deserving the name of discipline. The habit of shooting game, however, has rendered them expert marksmen, so that a little practice might make them very serviceable as irregular troops. Unless when called into actual service, only the inspecting officers and adjutants receive pay;* and the whole expense in 1835 did not exceed £1521, 7s. 4d.

* Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 295-297. Moorsom, p. 225-238. Colonial Tables 1834, p. 9.

CHAPTER IX.

History and Description of New Brunswick.

Extent and Boundaries—Surface—Settlement and Progress—Statistical Tables—St John County and City—King's and Queen's Counties — Sunbury — York — Fredericton — Carleton County—Falls of the St John—Charlotte County—Town of St Andrew — Westmoreland — Northumberland — Kent — Gloucester —Ristigouche.

This extensive and important country extends nearly north and south, between Nova Scotia and Canada, having the United States on the one side and the Gulf of St Lawrence on the other. On the south-east, the Bay of Fundy, with its branch of Chignecto and the Cumberland peninsula, separate it from Nova Scotia. On the north the Bay of Chaleur divides it from Gaspé: and the river Ristigouche runs on the north-west between it and Canada. On the west and south-west is the state of Maine; but here the limit is involved in much doubt, owing to the great extent of the disputed territory.

New Brunswick, which forms a kind of irregular square, lies between 45° 5′ and 48° 4′ 30″ of north latitude, and between 63° 47′ 30″ and 67° 53′ of west longitude. According to Bouchette, it comprises 27,704 square miles, or about 17,730,560 acres; and hence its area considerably exceeds that of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton united. It is not penetrated by those deep bays which nearly intersect that country, and render it so completely maritime; still the greater part of its boundary is composed of sea, including a coast sufficient for commerce, and even for a considerable fishery. The defect is farther supplied by noble rivers, which traverse nearly the whole

territory, and are navigable for a large part of their course. Of these the most important is the St John, which rises far beyond the boundary of the province, in about 70° west longitude. Its course is first north-east; but after passing the frontier, it flows south and south-east, across nearly the whole breadth of New Brunswick, till it falls into the Bay of Fundy, in about longitude 66° W., latitude 45° 20′ N. For eighty-five miles, up to Fredericton, it can be used by vessels of 50 tons; thence barks of 20 tons can ascend to the Grand Falls, about 120 miles higher; above which it is fitted only for boats. The Miramichi is also a most important river, which, in two large branches, traverses nearly the whole country, and falls into the bay of that name in the Gulf of St Lawrence. It is navigable more than thirty miles for large vessels, and for barges nearly to its sources.

The surface of the country is broken and undulating, somewhat as in Nova Scotia, and, like it, scarcely any where rising to a mountainous height. Considerable eminences, however, are found in the interior, especially on the frontier towards Mars Hill; and if we include that hill itself within the British territory, it will form an exception, as it is supposed to be about 2000 feet high. New Brunswick is decidedly more fertile than the province just named. It is remarkable, indeed, that the shores of the Bay of Fundy, which in Nova Scotia are so extremely fruitful, form on the opposite side a very barren range. With this exception, however, and that of a few not very extensive swamps, the land is believed to be throughout very productive. The banks of the numerous streams contain usually spaces of intervale or alluvial deposite partially inundated, and stretching out into the richest meadows. The quality of the soil is particularly indicated by the magnificent forests, with trees of gigantic size, by which it is more richly clothed than any other part of British America. The cutting down and exporting large quantities of this timber has become of late the chief occupation, and given to the colony a great commercial importance. The climate

nearly resembles that of Canada: being winter from November to April; then a sudden change from cold to heat; the summer intensely hot, and the vegetation rapid. The southern tracts are somewhat milder; and it is said that since 1816 the great extremes of temperature have been slightly mitigated,—a change ascribed to the gradual thinning of the woods. The heavy fogs are felt only partially along the Bay of Fundy; and with all its severity, the climate, as in the neighbouring countries, is uncommonly healthy. Rheumatism, consumption, and a low typhus fever at the beginning of winter, are the chief maladies, though others of a serious nature are sometimes brought by immigrants.*

The name of New Brunswick, and even its existence as a colony, did not commence till 1783. The French comprehended it under the appellation of New France, viewing it more particularly as an appendage to Acadia; we have even seen that some of their commanders formed a post at the mouth of the St John, to which they attached considerable importance. The English, in their turn, claimed it as part of Nova Scotia, though they never appear to have taken any measures to improve it. After that peninsula had been finally ceded to us, the French demanded this interior region as belonging to Canada. To support this pretension, they, as already mentioned, erected forts at the neck of the peninsula, and armed the Acadians and Indians; but the peace of 1763, which gave Canada to the British, ended all discussion on this subject. Still this great country was left nearly unoccupied, except by a few Acadians, who had sought refuge among its forests from the relentless persecution to which they were exposed. In 1762, some families from New England settled at Maugerville, about fifty miles up the St John; and in 1783 they amounted to about 800. At the end of the war several thousands of disbanded troops, removed from New England, were

* Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 92, 93, 105-110, 131, 142. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 219-221.

located at Fredericton ; and a party of Acadians who had settled there were ordered to Madawaska in order to make room for them. These new colonists, however, accustomed to all the comforts of civilized life, endured the most dreadful hardships when first placed in the midst of this wilderness ; and it was only after severe suffering and toil, that they could place their families in any degree of comfort. General Sir Guy Carleton, who was appointed governor in 1785, made very extraordinary exertions for the improvement of the country, which gradually, though slowly, advanced. In 1803 he returned to England, and from that time to 1817 the government was administered by a succession of presidents. The foundation of its prosperity was laid in 1809, when the duty on Baltic timber was advanced to £2, 14s. 8d. per load, while that from the colonies was left free. The export of this article from that period continually increased, till it reached its height in 1825, when, in consequence of speculative overtrading, a severe reaction was experienced. Yet since that event, this branch of industry has rallied, and become nearly as extensive as ever ; while a new impulse has been given by the arrival of foreign cultivators. In 1817, Major-general Smith was appointed lieutenant-governor, and held that office till 1823. For a short interval its affairs were intrusted to the care of Mr Chipman and Mr Bliss as presidents ; but in August 1824 they were succeeded by Sir Howard Douglas, to whose exertions the country was greatly indebted. He was relieved by Sir Archibald Campbell, whose place was supplied in 1837 by Major-general Sir John Harvey, from Prince Edward Island.*

New Brunswick is divided into eleven counties, chiefly arranged according to the rivers and waters upon which the population has been located. On the St John are the county of that name, King's and Queen's counties, Sun-

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 222-226. Report on the Timber Trade 1835, p. 3-5.

bury, York, and Carleton; Charlotte is situated on the Bay of Passamaquoddy; Westmoreland, on the Chignecto Basin; Kent, on the Richibucto; Northumberland, on the Miramichi; and Gloucester, on Chaleur Bay.

The following table exhibits the extent and population of each county according to the census of 1834: and two additional columns show the number of acres surveyed and open for settlers, and the value of timber produced. The materials are furnished by the recent work of Mr Wedderburne,* with some additional information obligingly communicated to us by Mr Crane, deputy from New Brunswick.

Counties.	Square Miles.	Acres.	Population.		Acres surveyed and open for settlers.	Value of Timber.
			1824.	1834.		
St John.....	668	427,648	12,907	20,668	32,000	£76,125
King's.....	1,303	834,035	7,980	12,195	66,000	16,512
Queen's.....	1,634	1,046,246	4,741	7,204	24,000	10,575
Sunbury.....	1,017	650,956	3,227	3 938	86,000	24,250
York.....	2,878	1,842,073	10,972	10,478	78,000	32,000
Carleton.....	4,400	2,816,000		9,493*	148,000	
Charlotte.....	1,418	907,904	9,267	15,852	235,000	124,344
Westmoreland...	2,307	1,476,992	9,303	14,205	57,000	28,047
Kent.....	1,755	1,123,584	15,829	6,031	170,000	21,500
Northumberland	5,056	2,336,224		11,170†	12,000	60,750
Gloucester.....	3,495	2,236,889		8,323	16,000	9,250
Total....	25,931	15,698,551	74,226	119,557	924,000	£403,353

* Carleton is a new county recently detached from York.
† These three in 1824 formed only one county, called Northumberland.

The county of St John, at the mouth of the great river of that name, extends along the Bay of Fundy, containing the parishes of Lancaster, Portland, St Martin, and that of the town of St John. This coast, as already observed, is by no means the most inviting part of the country, presenting only a few small stations, with good harbours, but with little trade. The county derives its importance almost wholly from including

* Statistical and Practical Observations relative to the Province of New Brunswick, published for the Information of Emigrants. By Alexander Wedderburne, Emigrant Agent, and Secretary to the late Agricultural and Emigrant Society of St John, New Brunswick. 4to, St John, 1835 (but the cover bears 1836, and details are given to that date). Colonial Tables 1834, p. 5.

the city, which, although not the seat of government, is the largest and most commercial in the colony. Commanding the navigation of a great river flowing through so many fine districts, its consequence must continually increase. The harbour is commodious, safe, and sufficiently spacious; and notwithstanding a bar across its entrance, which is even dry at low water, large vessels can enter at full tide. This basin affords also a valuable fishery, to the extent annually of from 10,000 to 15,000 barrels of herrings, besides salmon and shad. The tide is very powerful, rising from 16 to 24 feet; so that a great space in front of the town, covered at ebb with mud and slime, is converted at high water into a magnificent expanse. The aspect of the city at that time, with its handsome buildings rising behind each other, and backed by rocky and wooded hills, is very imposing.

St John is built on very irregular ground; so that, after much labour in levelling and smoothing the streets, several of them are still inconveniently steep, and in winter somewhat dangerous. A projecting rock separates it into the upper and lower coves. The former is the principal division, containing the wharfs and warehouses; but the lower has been improved by the erection of a line of barracks. The houses, principally of brick, are regularly arranged, and on the whole handsome; but ornament has not yet been much studied. The population amounted in 1834 to 12,885, being about one-third less than that of Halifax. The inhabitants appeared to Mr M'Gregor respectable, without perhaps displaying that social character for which those in the latter city are remarkable; mutual harmony being a good deal interrupted by party distinctions. There are two neat Episcopal churches and five other places of worship; a grammar-school and one for children on the Madras system; also various religious and charitable associations. St John contains a bank with a capital of £50,000, and another recently established, having a stock of £150,000; also a chamber of commerce. A detached portion, named

Carleton, containing a considerable number of new buildings, lies on the opposite side of the river.

The ground in the vicinity is stubborn, though a piece of land called the Marsh, of about 3000 acres, having been secured from the sea by an enclosure, forms a very rich alluvial tract. About a mile higher the river contracts to 400 yards, and the channel, filled with rocks, occasions a very formidable cataract. The tide, however, at its height covers all these obstructions, and for twenty minutes allows sloops and schooners to pass up into a bay surrounded by wooded heights, in which is a village named Indiantown, whence the steamer starts for Fredericton.*

King's county occupies both sides of the river immediately above that of St John, and contains the parishes of Kingston, Westfield, Greenwich, Norton, Springfield, Sussex, and Hampton. It is situated upon a part of the river, called Long Reach, parallel to which runs the estuary of Kennebekasis, receiving a river of the same name; while higher up there branches off a bay named Belleisle. The peninsulas formed by these broad channels are of inferior fertility, and want the alluvial deposites which enrich the border of smaller streams; but the tracts at their head bear a much better character, and Sussex Vale is highly improved. A good number of ships are built on the Kennebekasis, and about fifty miles from its mouth are two large quarries of gypsum. Kingston, laid out for the county town, has made but little progress. Including the parish, it contains not more than 1927 inhabitants.†

In ascending the river we come to Queen's county, comprising the parishes of Gagetown, Hampstead, Waterborough, and Wickham. It forms one of the finest parts of New Brunswick, and is scarcely surpassed by any tract in America. Grain and cattle of every

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 116-120. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 229-237. Wedderburne, p. 73.

† Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 238. Wedderburne, p. 73.

description abound; while the butter and cheese are particularly excellent. Its improvement too is greatly aided by the influx from the eastward of the Salmon river, terminating in Grand Lake, thirty miles long and three broad; also of the Washademoak, a considerable stream, expanding into a lake of nearly equal dimensions. On the Grand Lake are large mines of coal, well suited for manufactures, though not for domestic use. The woodlands also afford much timber fit for shipbuilding, which is practised to some extent. Gagetown, on the right bank, with a good harbour for such shipping as can ascend the river, is a thriving little place, containing with its parish 1004 individuals.*

Sunbury county occupies the next higher reach of the St John, having in its northern part the parishes of Maugerville and Sheffield; in its southern, those of Lincoln and Burton. The two former compose a district of most luxuriant fertility, derived somewhat inconveniently from an annual inundation of great part of their lands; yet so beneficial is its effect, that the most exposed spots are the most eagerly sought. A range of islets which stud the bed of the river are similarly enriched; and hence these parishes present one continued range of settlement. On the other side Lincoln and Burton form an upland tract, covered with noble forests; while the banks of the Oromocto and its tributary streams are favourable for cultivation. The county has about 40,000 acres, used for pasture and tillage, and 20,000 in meadow land.

York county occupies the higher banks of the St John for about fifty miles. It is more extensive than any of those now described, though, since the detachment of Carleton, it is reduced to less than half its former dimensions. It bears a somewhat ruder character, and settlements become gradually less frequent, till they are at length confined to the immediate bank of the river. It is divided into the parishes of Fredericton,

* Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 113, 114. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 239. Wedderburne, p. 73.

Douglas, St Mary's, King's Clear, Queensbury, and Prince William.

Fredericton, at which we first arrive, does not show any symptom of this change, but belongs to the most improved and cultivated part of the district. The town, partly enclosed by a bend of the stream, was fixed upon in 1785 by Sir Guy Carleton as the seat of government. Being at the termination of the sloop navigation on the great stream, from the mouth of which it is eighty-five miles distant, it must advance with the growing improvement of the upper country. Yet it can scarcely ever reach the same importance as St John, which commands the trade of the whole river. At present it is only a large village containing 2970 inhabitants, arranged in regular streets, and the houses, though only of wood, clean and handsome. There is now a bank with a capital of £15,000. A new government-house has been erected, very spacious, and presenting some splendid apartments. The college is well built, and on a scale beyond the actual wants of the colony; but time is remedying this defect. The Episcopal church is not handsome; there are four other places of worship, with the usual religious and philanthropic societies. The situation is described as extremely pleasant, commanding a long reach of the river, with its tributary the Nashwauk flowing in from the north.

Above Fredericton are the parishes of King's Clear on the south and St Mary on the north. The former was originally occupied by the New Jersey volunteers, and its vicinity to the capital has since attracted a number of gentry. The front lots are almost universally cultivated, as well as the fertile alluvial islands in the river. St Mary, on the other side, which extends also opposite to Fredericton, has still more dense settlements, extending considerably up the Nashwauk and Madamkeswick. They were at first established by the York volunteers and 42d regiment; and in their rear is a Welsh location named Cardigan. The territory extending hence to the Miramichi is now occupied by the New Brunswick Land Company.

Above these, on the south side, is Prince William, settled by the King's American dragoons, who, however, considered the soil so unfavourable, that most of them abandoned it. A few who remained have, notwithstanding, made themselves tolerably comfortable. Part of them have gone as far back as Lake St George, which communicates with the main stream by the river Pocknock, at whose mouth is a formidable cascade. Queensbury, on the opposite side, originally laid out for the Queen's Rangers, has been considerably more prosperous, and now exports a quantity of grain.*

Here, if we are not misinformed, the county of York terminates, and that of Carleton begins; the latter includes all the upper part of the course of the St John, so far as it flows within the limits of New Brunswick. This county is very extensive, but is said to bear a comparatively wild aspect, the range of settlement becoming more and more limited till it altogether ceases. The river soon changes its direction from west and east to nearly north and south; and only a narrow strip intervenes between it and the disputed territory. The aspect of the country becomes loftier and bolder; high rocks in many places overhang the stream or interrupt its course; and the slender lines of cultivation scarcely break in upon the immensity of forest. The parishes now occupy both banks, and are considerably more extensive than in the counties below.

The first townships, proceeding upwards, are Woodstock on the west and Northampton on the east bank; both granted to provincial regiments disbanded in 1815, after the last American contest. Great apprehensions were at first felt from the Indians; but a few individuals having ventured to the spot, found this danger groundless and the situation extremely desirable, upon which others speedily followed. This tract, formerly a complete wilderness, was soon converted into the most flourishing of

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 108-112. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p 240-243. Wedderburne, p. 73.

all the settlements above Fredericton. On the west side, the St John receives the Meduxnikeag, a broad rapid river flowing in almost innumerable branches through the woody highlands in the disputed territory; and also the Eel issuing from a large lake. All kinds of timber exist here in immense profusion, and when formed into rafts, can be floated down in safety to the sea. Woodstock has become a place of some importance, containing 1947 souls.

The parish of Wakefield, extending from the two last named to the river Presqu'ile, continues still favourable for settlement, and a good many persons, discontented with their lots farther down, have seated themselves there. They have been joined by a party of the New Brunswick provincials, whom government invited hither with a view to the security of the main route to Canada. From these causes the land is occupied with little interruption, at least on the immediate banks of the river, and culture is even beginning to extend into the interior. On the south side of the Presqu'ile is a military post, once important, but now mouldering into ruin.

The extensive parish of Kent embraces all the remaining and least improved part of the course of the St John, though cultivation is continued for some space above the Presqu'ile, the banks having been settled by disbanded West India rangers and New Brunswick fencibles. Gradually, however, these altogether disappear, and the river rolls amid precipitous rocks, and the dense gloom of unbroken forests. Yet it affords a wide and inviting field for new settlements; the fertility of the land, though untried, being proved by the noble growth of timber with which it is clothed. At present it is only trodden by the steps of the hardy lumberer, who finds here a rich harvest. In this tract the St John, nearly at the same point, receives two large tributaries, the Tobique, from the east, the Ristook or Aroostook, from the west. The former, which comes from a source near to that of the Miramichi, is distinguished by its valuable forests of red pine; and its

banks, as well as the islets at its mouth, are extremely favourable for cultivation. The Aroostook descends through a mountainous tract in the disputed territory, which does not, however, prevent the New Brunswickers from cutting timber and settling on its banks. The Salmon is another considerable stream, which falls into the St John twenty miles above.

About ten miles higher are the Grand Falls. The river, after flowing in a smooth and almost sluggish current, is suddenly contracted between steep cliffs, till at length it reaches a precipitous ledge, down which it thunders in a vast mass of foam. Being received amongst a number of sharp-pointed rocks, it almost disappears, but soon emerges, and is seen rushing with immense velocity through a narrow channel, forming for half a mile a succession of small cataracts. Here the water is overhung and partly hidden by crags of every varied form and size; and the scenery, though on a small scale when compared to Niagara, is strikingly wild and picturesque. In a small bay at the lower end, barges of 20 tons, which can ascend thus high, must stop, and the cargoes be conveyed by a laborious portage to the upper extremity. To avoid this, lumberers often make their timber shoot the falls, though many of the trees are thereby shattered to pieces.

For upwards of forty miles above this spot, the river rolls through a wooded wilderness, which the hand of cultivation has not yet touched; and only the pirogue of the Acadian or the bark-canoe of the Indian is occasionally seen floating on its surface. It then receives the Grand River, and a few miles higher the Madawaska, where there is a settlement of Acadians. This much-wronged people, after having found an asylum near Fredericton, were, in order to make room for the military colony, exiled to this remote station. The soil is, however, very fertile, and their rude industry enables them to send some grain to the town just named. They are said, however, to be more deficient both in

intelligence and the accommodations of life than their countrymen elsewhere.*

Having now surveyed this long line of settlements on the St John, we pass to Charlotte, a detached county on the immediate frontier of the United States. It is watered by the spacious Bay of Passamaquoddy, with its winding shores and numerous islands. The parishes are, St Andrew, St James, St Patrick, St David, St Stephen, Pennfield, St George, Campo Bello, and Grand Manan (an island). The bay receives the St Croix, the boundary river, while the Magaguadewek, with a large tributary, waters the interior. These streams are bordered by good land, and every where shaded with excellent trees: on which account, though agriculture is practised to some extent, the sawing of timber forms the chief branch of industry. On the Magaguadewek alone, from three to four millions of deals and boards are annually produced. There is also a considerable fishery of cod, haddocks, and herrings, in the bay and adjacent islands. These last, of which the chief are Deer and Grand Manan, carry on also much intercourse with the States, which, during the discouragement inflicted by the late tariff, was in a great degree contraband. Manan is well cultivated, but destitute of harbours; and its rocky cliffs, some of them 600 feet high, are very dangerous to mariners.

St Andrew, the chief town, at the head of the bay, has risen to some importance by carrying on the trade of this county, particularly the export of timber, and in 1834 it contained 3487 inhabitants. The streets are regularly arranged, and the houses generally respectable. The harbour is commodiously situated, but difficult of entrance, and somewhat inconvenient for large vessels. A bank has been recently established, with a capital of £30,000. There are an Episcopal and a Scottish church,

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 104-108. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 243-247. Wedderburne, p. 73.

the latter presented by Mr Scott, a resident merchant. St Stephen and St George are also considerable ports, the former containing 2677, and the latter 2321 inhabitants.*

Westmoreland county, on the opposite or eastern side of the St John, extends along the upper part of the Bay of Fundy, the isthmus, and also the branch of the Gulf of St Lawrence called Northumberland Strait. It contains the parishes of Sackville, Monkton, Hopewell, Hillsborough, Dorchester, Botsford, Salisbury, and Westmoreland. The aspect of its rocky shores subjected it for some time to the imputation of sterility, and the Acadians were allowed to occupy it unmolested; but that industrious people soon discovered its ample capabilities, and, by dyking its extensive marshes, converted them into the richest meadows. They have been followed by respectable British emigrants, who have rendered it one of the most improved districts of the province. The timber trade, elsewhere so absorbing, is here little attended to; and agriculture, particularly the rearing of cattle, affords materials for a considerable export. Grindstones to a great amount are also furnished by the Shepody Mountains, and sent to a ready market in the United States. The Petit Coudiac, the Missiquash, the Medamcook, and the Shediak, are small rivers; but on their banks is much rich intervale. Though the territory is not closely occupied, yet at the bend of the first-mentioned stream, on the road from Nova Scotia, there appears a rising village.†

The remainder of New Brunswick, northward to the Bay of Chaleur, and comprising more than a third of its surface, constituted till lately the county of Northumberland, and was little better than an unbroken forest. Since its vast recent advance in importance, Kent on the south, and Gloucester on the north, have been detached, and now make two separate counties.

The central one, still called Northumberland, and divided into the parishes of Ludlow, Glenelg, Chatham,

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 123-127. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 249-254. Wedderburne, p. 73.

† Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 127-130. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 255.

and Nelson, is that watered by the Miramichi and its numerous tributaries. This river, the second in the province, as we have stated, rises in Carleton, and its heads communicate by easy portages with the St John. About fifty miles upwards two branches unite in forming its main body, which is navigable for more than thirty miles by large vessels. There is a bar at the mouth, which, however, is passable with little difficulty; and it falls into the bay of its own name, which opens into the Gulf of St Lawrence. Its banks derive their chief importance from an immense quantity of the very finest timber in America, particularly the valuable species of the red and white pine. They were unfrequented and almost unknown till the beginning of this century, but since that time have been numerously peopled. The population consists almost solely of lumbering parties or workmen employed at the saw-mills; and though the numerous rivers afford large tracts of fertile intervale, cultivation has been scarcely introduced. This appears to confirm the common opinion that the one pursuit obstructs the other. Yet it may be observed, that the tract had remained unnoticed during all the period when agricultural colonies were forming, and even by the Acadians; it was settled late, and solely with a view to timber. Mr M'Gregor observes, that since the great depression of that trade in 1826 there has been much improvement in the management of the soil.

At the mouth of the river on each side are landing-places, where a few cargoes are loaded. The chief seats of business, however, are twenty miles up, where, within the space of four miles, are Chatham, Douglas, Nelson, and Newcastle. The first is the county town, with a court-house, church, and 2355 inhabitants, while Newcastle contains 2185. At each of these places large property is invested in wharfs and warehouses, as well as in saw-mills; and there is reason to lament that the four had not been united, when they might have formed a respectable town, where the business would have been carried on with greater convenience.

This part of New Brunswick became, in October 1825, the scene of one of the most awful calamities with which any country was ever visited, and of which, on this side of the Atlantic, we can scarcely form a conception. The forests which entirely cover those countries, when long acted upon by the intense heat of a western summer, become so dried as to expose them to the most sudden and powerful action of fire. This timber being chiefly of the pine species, filled with a resinous substance, the whole surface of the district becomes a mass of inflammable matter. In such circumstances, when flame catches the branches, and a strong wind aids its progress, there are scarcely any bounds to its ravages. Several partial fires had occurred without exciting alarm; but on the 7th October a furious west wind caused these to spread with dreadful effect. The inhabitants were first alarmed by a sound echoing through the woods, like an uninterrupted peal of thunder; then the flames appeared bursting through the trees, and rising two hundred feet above the top of the loftiest pines. Next was seen as it were an ocean of flame rolling towards Newcastle and Douglas: all resistance was vain; and these towns, whose wooden fabrics became mere piles of fuel, were speedily reduced to ashes. The miserable inhabitants, abandoning their all without an attempt to save it, rushed to the bank, and threw themselves into boats, canoes, rafts, logs, or whatever was within reach, to convey them down to Chatham; but several hundreds of both sexes were either killed or severely injured. The flames spread a vast distance into the country, destroying magnificent forests and numerous cattle; even wild animals and birds were drawn into them by a sort of fascination. The benevolence of the neighbouring British provinces and of the United States was most liberally exerted on this distressing occasion; and so ample, indeed, were the subscriptions that, after relieving the sufferers, they left a surplus, which was employed in founding a school in the chief seat of the calamity.

The towns which were destroyed have since that time completely recovered, and are now better built and somewhat larger than before.*

Kent, the new province to the south of Northumberland proper, comprises the parishes of Carleton, Dundas, Wellington, Liverpool, Huskisson, and Harcourt, and is watered by several rivers, the chief being the Richibucto, which falls into Northumberland Strait. It may be described as the Miramichi in miniature, the banks, though less extensive, being covered with a similar profusion of noble timber, which is exported in vast quantities. There is a bar at its entrance; but at high tide it affords sixteen feet water. Although the timber-trade be the engrossing pursuit, cultivation is making some progress, being partly carried on by Acadian settlers. The town contains 2775 inhabitants. Buchish and Cocagne are ports at the mouths of smaller rivers, whence some timber is likewise exported.†

Gloucester, comprising the northern part recently detached from Northumberland, extends along the southern shore of Chaleur Bay, which separates it from Gaspé. Its parishes are Addington, Beresford, Bathurst, Saumarez, and Eldon. Till of late it was very little known, and is still less so than the other counties; yet its inducements, both for the timber-trade and settlement, are said to be little if at all inferior. The Nipissighit, a considerable river, having on its banks fine wood and land of various quality, falls in about the middle of the bay. Here, at St Peter or Bathurst, with a population of 1626, is a harbour, which, though encumbered with a bar, admits large brigs, and affords accommodation for the loading of timber. Eastward is the flourishing settlement of New Bandon; and farther, in the same direction, the Bay of Caraquette, bordered by some very fertile soil, cultivated by Acadians, who carry on also the cod and herring fishery. They occupy other spots on the

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 130-137. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 260-270. Wedderburne, p. 73.

† M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 272, 273. Wedderburne, p. 73.

coast, as well as the large adjacent island of Shippegan. Their features and colour intimate habits of frequent intermarriage with the Micmac Indians. Miscou Island, where the French had once a considerable fishing establishment, is now abandoned.

The shores of the bay above the Nipissighit continue lined with inhabitants. At its head it receives the Ristigouche, a river equal to the Miramichi, and forming the boundary between Canada and New Brunswick. It is bordered by high ridges on each side, but contains valleys and tracts of intervale capable of the highest cultivation. The pine-timber grows to an immense size, and is considered equal to that on the Miramichi. The greatest difficulty of the lumberers consists in dragging it over the ridges from the valleys behind; but they contrive to employ for this purpose the torrents when swelled by the spring thaws. Dalhousie is the port on the New Brunswick side of the river.*

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 264-272. Wedderburne, p. 73.

CHAPTER X.

Industry, Commerce, Social and Political State of New Brunswick.

Agriculture—Productions—Timber-trade—Mode of collecting the Timber—Saw-mills—Ship-building—Fishery—Exports and Imports—Recent Improvements—Population—Constitution—Revenue—Military Defence.

Agriculture in New Brunswick is considerably less advanced than in any of the colonies previously described; yet it possesses advantages and resources which in time will doubtless raise it to a level with the most improved districts. Excepting a certain tract along the Bay of Fundy, the surface is nowhere rugged and rocky like the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia. The high grounds which diversify the interior, uniformly clothed with verdure and trees, render the country not only more picturesque, but more fruitful. Numerous streams descend from them into the valleys beneath, terminating in broad rivers of long course, and forming extensive ranges of intervale. The uplands also have been found very productive. The New Brunswick Company distinguish what they term "upland intervale," which, however, scarcely answers to the name, being never overflowed; but it is covered with extremely fine alluvial soil. Indeed an impression prevails that hardly one exception would be found to the general fertility of the central parts; though we cannot help remarking, that this seems not quite compatible with the great prevalence of pine, which, according to the same authorities, always indicates a light soil. Yet the dense and noble forests of this class, for which New Brunswick is

famed, probably mark the deficiency in a less degree than would be inferred from scattered and stunted trees, which discourage the agriculturist in Upper Canada. Alluvial marshes are found on the Chignecto Basin, as well as on the opposite coast, and have been dyked by the Acadians, or in imitation of them; but this luxuriant soil occurs in much smaller quantity than in the neighbouring colony.*

In regard to the effect of climate on agriculture, this country holds a kind of intermediate position between Nova Scotia and Lower Canada. The coast, especially along the Bay of Fundy, is, like that of the former, subject to gloomy fogs, variable weather, and alternations of frost and thaw. The interior, however, resembles the latter in its long steady winter, the sudden transition to summer, and the continued heat of that season. Hence it has been found favourable to wheat, which is now raised in considerable abundance. It is almost wholly the spring-sown species, though the Company recommend emigrants to carry out with them a small quantity for autumn sowing. Oats, however, are still the prevailing grain. Indian corn thrives in rich low soils; yet still, under the imperfect culture, the most easily raised and advantageous crop is the potato, which, as in the adjoining territories, is excellent. Little progress has been made in gardening, though the climate seems quite fitted for raising the same culinary productions as at home, and for even a greater variety of fruits, from the cranberry to the grape, which last grows in the open air in the inland tracts. A floral and horticultural society has lately been established at Fredericton. After all, vegetable produce is still held secondary to the rearing of cattle, for which a ready demand is found among the lumberers, and which could not be imported without difficulty. The climate and soil seem propitious to them, since, in spite of rude management and the necessity of keeping

* Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 101, 140-143. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 219-222. Practical Information by the New Brunswick Land Company, p. 4.

them under cover five months in the year, they thrive nearly as well as in Britain, and good breeds are found in different parts of the province. Even the hog shows no symptom of the inferiority complained of in the adjoining colony.*

The comparatively little regard paid to agriculture in this fine province appears partly owing to its late settlement, but chiefly to the superior importance attached to the timber-trade. Since the depression felt in 1826, and the extensive resort of British emigrants within these few years, greater attention has been attracted to this more valuable branch of national economy. Mr M'Gregor, in his last journey through the country, was quite struck by the favourable change. The spirit of improvement which arose in Nova Scotia has penetrated into this country; and it was greatly promoted by Sir Howard Douglas, who, in 1825, called a special meeting of the members of the legislature and other respectable gentlemen throughout the province. He pointed out the urgent call to improve this department of industry, and the means which had elsewhere been found effective. At his suggestion, agricultural societies were established, and spread through every district; cattle shows were instituted, and premiums granted. A happy spirit was thus introduced, which there is every reason to hope will be extended.

In 1835 an attempt was made to obtain, through the assessors, returns of agricultural stock and produce; and though these were by no means complete, yet by combining them with careful estimates, the following results were considered as nearly approximating to the real amount:—

Produce in wheat,	150,000 bushels.
Other grain,	300,000 ..
Potatoes,	2,100,000 ..
Horses,	11,000

* Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 144, 145. M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 314, 315. Information by Land Company, pp. 14, 15. Wedderburne, p. 16.

Neat Cattle, ...	91,000
Sheep, ...	143,000
Hogs, ...	59,000*

Another, and as yet by much the most important production, is timber. The whole country is almost one uninterrupted forest, very partially broken in upon, either by the plough or the axe. Many of the trees too are of that description which it is admitted would command a market even under the freest competition, there being many purposes for which they are better adapted than any other species. The yellow pine, although it wants strength for supporting any of the heavy parts of an edifice, and cannot safely be placed in contact with a wall or the ground, where it would be exposed to damp, is yet comparatively free from knots, susceptible of a high polish, and from its soft texture very easily worked. The great size of the trunk enables many articles to be formed of one entire piece,—an arrangement often very conducive to convenience and elegance. For ornamental work in the interior of houses, therefore, such as pannellings of doors and windows, mouldings, wainscotting, and similar purposes, it is greatly preferred. The same qualities adapt it for picture and looking-glass frames, as well as for musical instruments, which must be constructed of one piece, so that large and fine logs, fitted for this last purpose, bear a high price. Even those of a more common order are well suited for large packing-cases, which can be made from them without joints. The pine-logs from St John are considered by Mr Warburton superior to those from Quebec, but those from Miramichi are the finest and most valuable of all. Of the red pine, New Brunswick contained only a small quantity, which has been now almost entirely cut down. White spruce from St John and St Andrew is much used for coarser purposes, particularly packing-cases, to which its great breadth adapts it; but it is complained of as liable to shrink. Staves are described by Mr J. D. Hume as scarcely an article of ex-

* Wedderburne, p. 78. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 313.

port; but they seem to have since grown in importance, as they amounted in 1835 to the value of nearly £13,000.*

The cutting down of the timber is chiefly performed by parties going into the woods, usually under the direction of one individual, who hires the rest at fixed wages. Most of them were formerly from the United States, but they now consist chiefly of natives of the province, aided by emigrants from Britain. In Canada the master-lumberers usually carry on the adventure themselves, and sell the produce to the exporting merchant; but in New Brunswick, where capital is scarcer, the latter most commonly makes the advances in tools, provisions, tobacco, and molasses; to which rum is usually added, with sufficient precaution, however, that it shall not render the men unfit for work. Thus provided, in the close of autumn the parties ascend one of the great rivers to an unfrequented quarter in the depth of the forest. Near the margin of a rivulet they clear a small spot, and erect a shanty or log-hut, roofed with birch-bark, and scarcely large enough to allow them to stand upright. In fact it is very little used unless during the night, when, spreading the floor with hay, straw, or branches, they lie down together with their feet towards the fire, and any one who awakes throws on fresh billets to keep it constantly blazing. At daylight they rise, and divide into three gangs, one of which cuts down the trees, another hews them, a third, with the oxen, drags them to the nearest road or stream. The whole winter having been spent in this labour, a considerable quantity is accumulated by the end of April, when the "freshets" or melted snows begin to rush down. These are employed to float the timber, which, as soon as the breadth of the channel admits, is formed into large flat rafts, and thus conveyed to the shipping. This period is the most trying to the health of the men, being obliged to be much in the water, which is then excessively cold. On reaching the coast they receive their pay, and many

* Report on the Timber-trade, 1835, pp. 16, 18, 197, 203, 213, 237, 370-373. Wedderburne, p. 57.

of them spend it in a thoughtless festivity, which has thrown reproach both on themselves and on their trade. Yet where the occupation itself is perfectly creditable, it seems unjust as well as unwise to proscribe it on account, of accidental irregularities in the behaviour of individuals. It is asserted that their conduct has now considerably improved, and is even, on the whole, more becoming than that of workmen employed in the large cities.*

To manufacture this timber is an operation for which the colony is not yet fully prepared. The formation of it into deals, however, saves so much freight by removing the superfluous parts, and is likewise so conducive to its preservation, that it must be carried on more or less in every country which exports wood. According to a careful estimate in 1831, the saw-mills of New Brunswick were in number 229, their value £232,030, the persons employed 3798. On 1st January 1836, the mills had increased to 320, valued at £420,000; and an association, called the New Brunswick Mill Company, had early in that year made contracts for others expected to cost £28,750. They have been chiefly erected by British capital. Messrs Gilmour, Rankin, and Company, have built one on the Miramichi, which cost £15,000. Yet the deals of this province, though produced to the value of £104,000, are not considered to be so well made as those of Canada, and therefore the greater part of its pine is conveyed to Britain in the log.†

This trade has been raised to its present height by very high duties imposed upon Baltic timber. In 1791 they amounted only to 6s. 8d. per load, and the importation from America then scarcely existed. The duty was gradually raised, till, between 1810 and 1812, it amounted to £2, 14s. 8d., and between 1814 and 1820

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 299-302. Report on the Timber-trade, pp. 161, 190, 236, 247.

† Report on the Timber-trade, pp. 8, 38, 160, 237, 369-373. Wedderburne, p. 53.

to about £3, 5s., while the colonial wood remained free. In 1821 the rate was reduced to £2, 15s., while, for the first time, a duty amounting to 10s. per load was laid upon American timber. Although this diminished the protection to the extent of £1 per load, the import of the latter has continued to increase, rising between 1822 and 1833 from 345,741 to 416,830 loads, while the Baltic import has fallen from 137,248 to 104,694. There still remains a protecting duty of £2, 5s. per load, the entire removal of which would probably, to a great extent, drive the transatlantic timber out of the British market.*

Whether, notwithstanding this circumstance, an equalization ought to take place, is a question much debated, into which we do not now propose to enter at length. We admit the general principles of free trade, and that timber is an article so valuable for ship-building, machinery, and house-building, as to make the enhancement of its price a great inconvenience. On the other hand, there are the usual evils of overturning a system once established, the loss of the capital invested, and the throwing a number of men out of employment. This line of trade, too, has the advantage of giving employment to a great body of seamen in a distant voyage calculated to render them peculiarly hardy and skilful. There is the collateral benefit of the cheap rate at which emigrants are conveyed in the ships that go out with much less bulky cargoes. As the lumberer selects only detached trees in a forest his operations are of no use in clearing the soil. It has been stated as a ground of complaint, that the employment, being well paid, distracts the attention of the people from agriculture; yet it affords a market for the farmer's produce, and remunerates him in many cases for the work of his oxen during winter when they would otherwise be idle. The poor industrious emigrant may by two or three years' work raise a little capital for clearing and improving a piece of ground. On the whole, it would appear that, though some greater

* Report, p. 3-5.

approach to equality might be desirable, this branch ought to be tenderly dealt with, and abrupt changes avoided. The committee of 1835 recommend that the Baltic duty should be reduced 15s., without any increase on that from America. Considering timber as an article the cheapness of which is so desirable, we cannot help regretting that the duty of 1821 was laid on; and perhaps were this repealed, the increased demand might enable the American to support its ground, though placed nearer on a level with the European.

The greatest vicissitude ever experienced in the colony was occasioned by the extravagant speculations of 1824 in the importation of timber into Britain, especially in the form of colonial-built ships. Soon, however, the well-known reaction took place; the ports and warehouses were completely glutted, and the price fell one-half. Many merchants suffered in consequence severe losses, and the import was for some years reduced, but it has now rallied to nearly the amount of the most active period. The profits, however, by no means equal those formerly realized; they are complained of as now affording nothing more than a bare remuneration.*

The value of timber exported in 1835 is stated as follows:—

Square timber,	£291,817
Deals,	104,150
Boards,	18,437
Staves,	12,967
Shingles, handspikes, &c.	2,051
Oars,	478
Lathwood,	4,966
Trenails,	157
	£435,023†

The ships built in New Brunswick are considered by many British owners to be too slight. They are called slop or cabbage-stalk built, having their lower timbers of pine or spruce. Their construction, however, costing little more than £6 per ton, is still carried on to a considerable extent, amounting in 1835 to ninety-two

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. pp. 296, 297. † Wedderburne, p. 57.

vessels, with a tonnage of 23,058. In 1795 the tonnage belonging to St John was only 4000; it had increased in 1824 to 16,000; in 1836 to 59,663. In 1835, that of the entire colony was 80,876.*

Although New Brunswick is not so deeply indented as Nova Scotia by a sea affording rich fisheries, its extensive coast is studded with bays and inlets extremely favourable to this pursuit. The great rivers, particularly the Miramichi, abound with salmon, gaspereaux or alewives, shad, and other valuable fresh water species. In the bay forming the harbour of St John the capture of herrings and mackerel has long been extensive. The legislature have encouraged by bounties this branch of industry, which has been making a rapid progress. The enterprise of the inhabitants has lately added the whale-fishery; so that the export of train oil, in 1832 valued at only £757, in 1835 exceeded £10,000.

The exportation in 1834 was reported as follows:—

Dry cod, 26,595 quintals, value	£15,188
Wet cod, 693 barrels,	583
Herrings, 3653 boxes 365 barrels,	709
Mackerel, 3014 barrels,	2,564
Salmon, 869 barrels,	1,787
Other sorts,	5,564
Train oil,	9,577
	£35,972

For 1835 the report is—

Fish, dried, value	£12,894
... pickled,	21,269
... smoked,	1,944
Oil, cod liver,	849
... seal,	1,088
... whale,	10,988
In all,	£49,032†

The mineral wealth of New Brunswick is as yet little explored, and though apparently inferior to that of Nova Scotia, is yet not inconsiderable. The great deposit of

* Report, p. 94. Colonial Tables 1835, p. 10. Wedderburne, pp. 19, 53.

† Colonial Tables 1833, p. 17; 1834, p. 8. Wedderburne, p. 58.

gypsum and grindstone extends from the latter to the western coast of the Bay of Chignecto, where it is worked to some advantage. On the banks of the Grand Lake, a little way up the St John, are very fine seams of coal, for the mining of which a company has been lately formed. The interior contains excellent salt springs, though no rock salt. Specimens of copper, iron, manganese, zinc, and antimony, have been observed, but their value is not yet ascertained. Gypsum was exported in 1833 to the value of £3997; in 1834 to the amount of £2447.*

The commerce of New Brunswick is not of the same complex character as that of Nova Scotia. Its situation does not render it a depot for the commodities of any other states, and limits its transactions to the exchange of its own surplus for articles of consumption; but even under this simple relation it reaches to an extent highly creditable to its limited population. In 1833 and 1835, the value of the exports was respectively £469,464 and £577,211; that of the imports £549,215 and £621,500. These tables, it may be observed, do not exhibit the transactions, however extensive, with the other American colonies. In 1835, the imports into St John alone are stated by Mr Wedderburne at £1,040,000.

The staple exports are timber and fish, the particulars of which have already been given. We find also in 1835 beef and pork to the value of £1243, but a much greater amount was imported. Of salt in the same manner, there is exported £6783, imported £10,503. Of native produce, hides and skins amount to £1199; coals to £2648; furs to £2423. Small quantities of mahogany, cotton-wool, rum, and tobacco, obtained from the United States and the West Indies, are re-exported, but on a more limited scale than in Nova Scotia.

The imports are much more various, and include almost every luxury of life, and many of its necessaries. The state of agriculture in the colony renders it to

* Colonial Tables 1833, p. 8; 1835, p. 10. Wedderburne, p. 32.

a great extent dependent upon the United States, whence chiefly, in 1834, it imported to the value of £8121 in wheat and other grain, £28,360 wheat-flour, and £37,181 Indian corn and meal, with £6338 in bread. This raises the imports of what are called "bread-stuffs" to above £80,000. From Britain large supplies are drawn of its staple manufactures,—cottons, £53,500; woollens, £53,876; linens, £19,845; silks, £11,999; glass, £9509; hardware and cutlery, £16,103; hats, £6362; earthenware, £4395; leather, £4897; candles, £3652; soap, £5991; refined sugar, £3695. Of metals we find iron, £37,957; copper, £5264; lead, £897. Various supplies are furnished in the shape of apparel and slops, £15,154; haberdashery, £11,714; cordage, £22,417; fishing tackle, £1667; painters' colours, £3793; books, £1654. From the West Indies we find her importing rum to the value of £28,639; sugar, £12,754; molasses, £10,219; ornamental woods, £2453. The United States, besides grain, supply tobacco, £5701; rice, £1935; fruits, £3182. Europe, exclusive of England, furnishes, but probably through the medium of this country, wine, £7283; brandy, Geneva, and a variety of liqueurs, amounting to £9126.*

A very active spirit of improvement appears by the latest accounts to have been excited in this flourishing colony. In 1836, joint stock companies, whose capitals altogether amounted to two millions sterling, had been formed for the prosecution of different branches of industry. Four banks have been established,—at St John, the Commercial, with a capital of £150,000, and the New Brunswick, £50,000; one at St Andrews, £30,000, and one at Fredericton, £15,000. They do not, however, allow interest on deposits, which renders it somewhat difficult to invest capital, though it is in demand at six per cent. Great attention has lately been paid to the roads, which were formerly of the very worst description, and only to a limited extent passable

* Colonial Tables 1833, pp. 7, 8; 1834, pp. 7, 8. Wedderburne, p. 53.

for carriages. The Parliament in 1836 voted for this purpose £17,560, of which £9160 was to be employed on by-roads.*

The population of New Brunswick has augmented more rapidly than that perhaps of any other colony, Upper Canada excepted, the amount of which, as already observed, was altogether insignificant till the end of the American war. The great loyalist emigration at that era gave an important impulse to it; and besides those who came directly, many, disappointed with their locations in Shelburne and other parts of Nova Scotia, afterwards followed. In 1785, the country was considered of sufficient importance to be formed into a separate government. In 1817, the inhabitants were estimated at 35,000; in 1824, a census carefully taken gave the amount at 74,176; and by the latest, in 1834, it had increased to 119,457. Of this number 61,456 were males, and 55,828 females; there were besides 757 male and 866 female negroes; the inhabited houses were 16,434. This estimate is believed to be under the real number, which cannot, it is imagined, be less than 125,000, and we suspect may be nearer 130,000. Such a rapid increase is owing in the first instance to the employment afforded by the timber-trade, and next to the recent immigration, which has shown a preference to this over any other colony, except Upper Canada. In 1832, the number was 6259; in 1833 it fell to 3952, but rose in 1834 to 6178, and Mr Wedderburne states the whole from 1832 to 1836 at 25,000, or 6000 annually, which agrees with Mr Bliss's estimate stated to Parliament in 1835. There must therefore, since 1834, have been an addition to the gross number, as stated above, of not less than 24,000, which, with the internal increase, will make the whole now near 160,000.†

The elements of the population are almost exactly the same as in Nova Scotia, with some difference in the

* Wedderburne, pp. 23, 35, 53.

† M'Gregor, vol. ii. p 222. Wedderburne, pp. 73, 54, 28. Report on the Timber-trade, 169. Colonial Tables 1834, p. 6.

proportions. The basis is equally composed of the more respectable settlers from the United States, who introduced much of their active spirit; while the military colonists have contributed to render the society more polished. Besides agricultural improvements, many lots originally located in the wilderness have acquired great additional value by cities and towns having sprung up in their vicinity. The Acadians on the Bay of Fundy, and at the remote frontier station of Madawaska, bear their usual character. The immigrants, from what has been stated, must form a considerable and increasing portion. Hitherto comparatively few have been of Scotch or even English origin; the Irish are decidedly the most numerous. The Indians, estimated by Mr Wedderburne at 1700, belong, as formerly stated, to the tribes of Micmacs and Amalicites, and continue to receive presents at Quebec, when they repair thither. On the arrival of Sir Howard Douglas at Fredericton in 1825, upwards of two hundred assembled to congratulate him and represent their miserable condition. On reporting this circumstance, he was authorized to bestow upon them on such occasions small gifts not exceeding the value of £60.*

The means of religious instruction are respectable, considering the thinness of the population. The members of the Church of England constitute the majority, being about 79,000. The clergy are subject to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and consist of an archdeacon and thirty missionaries, who have incomes of about £200 a-year. The Scotch or Presbyterian church, with about 6000 members, has twelve ministers, who receive from government £50 a-year each. The Catholics are reckoned about 16,000, and have a bishop and seventeen priests. The Wesleyan Methodists, about 10,000, have twenty-one ministers; and the Baptists, somewhat more numerous, have twenty-five.†

* M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 318. Wedderburne, p. 53. Report on the Aboriginal Tribes, pp. 146, 147.

† Wedderburne, pp. 25, 35, 76.

New Brunswick at an early period incurred the reproach of being somewhat illiterate,—a character which applied even to individuals holding high situations under government. A college has, however, been founded at Fredericton, endowed with 6000 acres of land, and by liberal grants from the crown and the province a handsome building has been erected. It is open to students of every denomination. The province voted in 1836 £2200 for its support. Windsor, in Nova Scotia, is also accessible to students from this colony. There are nine grammar-schools, of which the principal are at St John, St Andrew, Fredericton, and Miramichi, for which the legislature allows £1000 annually. There are also 285 parish-schools on the Madras system, for which £6000 (above £20 each) is granted, the inhabitants being required to subscribe an equal sum.*

The constitution differs little from that of Nova Scotia, except that the executive and legislative councils are here distinct. The representative body, or Parliament, consists of twenty-six members, and sits at Fredericton. There is a supreme court of justice, with circuits; also county courts of common pleas, and other inferior ones, taking cognizance of debts under £5.

The revenue, derived from imposts equally moderate as in the other colonies, is entirely appropriated to local objects and improvements. The amount is very variable, as will appear by the following statement for the last six years :—

In 1830,	£49,670
1831,	28,196
1832,	37,518
1833,	35,661
1834,	45,220
1835,	60,316

The crown derives a revenue from the sale of unoccupied lands, which, in consequence of the great immigration, has been recently much on the increase. In 1830 it amounted to only £5600; in 1835 to £46,000. Sums

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 151. M'Gregor, vol. ii. p. 323. Wedderburne, pp. 26, 27.

are levied for poor rate and other local purposes, but to no oppressive extent. Three days of statute labour on the roads are annually required, and the same period of time for militia service; but each may be commuted for 10s. The amount of all these local taxes in 1834 was £90,974.

Some discontent has lately been felt on the ground that the representative body has not sufficient control over the colonial revenue, and do not even receive full information as to the produce of its different branches. Messrs Crane and Wilmot, however, having been sent to England in the beginning of 1837 to represent these grievances, an arrangement was made by which, upon granting a reasonable civil list, the provincial parliament are to have the entire disposal of the remainder. With this they declare themselves completely satisfied, and repudiate the extensive demands and violent discontents which prevail among the popular party in Lower Canada.

The expense of the regular army is defrayed by the mother-country, and in 1830 and 1831 respectively cost about £25,000. There is besides a militia consisting of all the able-bodied inhabitants, of which the amount is stated by M. Bouchette at 12,000, but since his time it has increased to 21,191.*

* Bouchette, pp. 155, 156. Wedderburne, p. 28-55. Colonial Tables 1834, p. 6.

CHAPTER XI.

Prince Edward Island.

Situation and Extent—Surface—Climate—Soil—Discovery—Early Settlement—Capture by Britain—Plans to colonize it—Name changed to Prince Edward—Various Governors—Local Divisions—Charlottetown—King's County—Prince's County—Agriculture—Timber-trade—Fishing—Commerce—Imports and Exports—Population—Constitution—Revenue—Education.

PRINCE EDWARD, a name substituted for the early one of St John, is a fine island, which, for a considerable extent, bounds on the south the Gulf of St Lawrence, intervening between it and great part of the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. From them it is separated throughout its whole length by Northumberland Strait,—a channel varying in breadth from nine to forty miles. This territory, which has a very winding outline, describes in its general form a species of crescent, having its hollow part towards the gulf, into which both its boundary-capes project. It lies between 45° 50′ and 47° 7′ north latitude, and between 62° and 64° 27′ west longitude. The general direction is from north-west to south-east, following which the greatest length is about 135 miles, and the breadth 34. In one part, however, the latter contracts to a single mile; and it is throughout so deeply indented by bays and inlets that scarcely any spot is distant more than seven or eight miles from the influx of the tide. The area is estimated at 1,380,700 acres.

The surface of this island bears a different aspect from that of the adjoining parts of America. Its eminences nowhere aspire to the character of mountains, nor even of hills. They are merely ridges, producing an

undulating variety of hill and dale, with the hollows filled by numberless little creeks and lakes. The coasts of these, as well as of the open sea, being skirted by trees of the most varied foliage, present scenery, not grand indeed, but peculiarly soft and agreeable.*

The climate has the character general in this part of America, yet appears to possess in a superior degree its best qualities, with a mitigation of its evils. The winter is shorter and less severe than in Lower Canada, and at the same time more steady than in Nova Scotia. A remarkable exemption, too, is enjoyed from those dreary fogs with which the ocean-coasts are infested, as they appear only occasionally, and last but part of a day. There is likewise a full share of the general salubrity and freedom from pestilential diseases; even consumption is less frequent and fatal. This good health, and the facility of subsistence, produce an extraordinary increase of population; females are often grandmothers at forty, and mother and daughter are frequently seen suckling their children at the same time.

The soil is described as usually composed of a vegetable mould, upon light red loam, with a subsoil of stiff clay on sandstone; and its general character is that of decided fertility, nowhere interrupted by the rocky tracts which abound on the exterior coasts. There are, however, two descriptions of unproductive lands; swamps and burnt-grounds. The former, where comparatively dry, resemble the peat-bogs of Ireland, being covered with turf and shrubs; and others, though wet, spongy, and deep, producing dwarf trees and long grass, become, nevertheless, when carefully drained, very rich meadows. The burnt-grounds were originally covered with extensive pine-forests, which have been destroyed by conflagrations, and are now overspread with black stumps, mixed with ferns and diminutive shrubs. Although these probably never were the best lands, yet some of them have been found reclaimable. Owing to those fires, and the quantity of timber exported, the forests on

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 158. M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 283, 284.

the island scarcely now exceed what is wanted for the use of the inhabitants. The prevailing trees at present are, spruce, fir, hemlock, beech, birch, maple, and poplar. The soil is well fitted for spring-sown and sometimes autumn wheat: even a surplus of that valuable grain is occasionally produced. Oats, barley, potatoes, turnips, and flax thrive extremely; but Indian corn and hemp are not so successful. The fur-bearing animals have been greatly thinned, as well as the walrus, which formerly abounded on the coasts. Fortunately the bear, which once did considerable damage, has shared a similar fate; but the *loup-cervier* or wild cat is still formidable to the flocks. The shores are well supplied with shell-fish, particularly oysters and lobsters, the former of which are reckoned the best in America, and even equal to the English. On banks in the close vicinity are stores of the most valuable sea-fish, particularly herrings, and *gaspereaux*, already often mentioned. Limestone and gypsum, so abundant on the adjacent coasts, are wanting; and though indications of iron and coal are supposed to have been observed, no mines of either have yet been discovered.*

Bouchette and M'Gregor have followed Robertson in supposing this to be the island discovered by Cabot in 1497, and named by him St John; a conclusion which seems wholly inconsistent even with Hakluyt's very brief narrative. He describes it as situated *opposite to* the part of the mainland first seen by that navigator. Allowing the territory in question to be Newfoundland, it was probably its eastern coast: and it seems quite impossible that he could have spoken thus of an island situated 125 miles from its most western point, with Cape Breton and the Magdalens intervening. The name is too common to be of much importance; and besides it is actually that of the capital of Newfoundland. Neither do these writers seem more accurate in supposing Verazzani to have made the discovery afresh. That navi-

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 308-318. Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 170-172. Stewart's Account of Prince Edward Island (8vo, London, 1806), p. 123-126.

gator, after relating a voyage, evidently made along the shores of the United States and Nova Scotia, merely states that he came to the land already discovered by the Britons. By this he probably meant Newfoundland; but there is no hint of his entering the Gulf of St Lawrence, or making that great circuit to the south-west, which would have been necessary to bring him to the island of Prince Edward.*

When the French court, founding upon the discoveries of Cartier and Verazzani, established in America a vast domain called New France, meant to embrace at least Canada on one side and Nova Scotia on the other, this insular tract was of course included within its boundaries. Champlain even mentions it under the name of St John, accurately describes its situation and extent, and notices its fine harbours and valuable fishery, to which the Biscayans frequently resorted. Yet Charlevoix, at a much later period, when making a similar enumeration, does not indicate the slightest knowledge of its existence. It appears, however, to have been granted in 1663 to a French captain, the Sieur Doublet, but held in subordination to a fishing company, established at the small island of Miscou. It seems, in fact, to have been valued only for fishery, with which view some trifling stations were established.†

St John began to emerge from this obscurity only after the treaty of Utrecht, when, Acadia being ceded to Britain, a number of the French settlers, to whom her yoke was always odious, sought refuge in this island. They soon spread reports of its fertility and natural advantages, which allured settlers even from Cape Breton; but this was discouraged by the government, who had resolved to make the latter the centre of their power in America. When it was captured by the New England forces in 1745, the neighbouring island shared

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 6. Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 450.

† Champlain, tome i. p. 126. Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 86. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 352.

the same fate; but both, as already mentioned, were restored by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

After the second reduction of Louisbourg in 1758, that of St John again followed, and it became permanently attached to the British crown. The number of inhabitants at that time is variously rated at 10,000, 6000, and 4100; the last probably nearest the truth. They had brought a very considerable portion of land under cultivation; had large stocks of horned cattle; and some of them could send 1200 bushels of wheat to the market of Quebec. They were now doomed, however, to the same relentless proscription as their brethren in Nova Scotia; and the pretext was, that a number of English scalps were found hung up in the French governor's house. This was no doubt a just ground of suspicion; though our countrymen might have recollected that they themselves had offered premiums for these trophies. They were unquestionably brought in by the Indians, and at all events afforded no apology for inflicting vengeance upon thousands of peaceable and industrious settlers. The details of the expulsion are not stated; but it appears that a certain number were sent to Canada, others to the southern colonies, and some to France, while it is admitted that many contrived to conceal themselves. So complete, however, was the desolation, that, in 1770, twelve years after, there were found only 150 families.*

The island was confirmed to Britain in 1763; but some years elapsed before measures, not remarkably judicious, were taken for its settlement. Lord Egremont formed a strange scheme, by which it was to be divided into twelve districts, ruled by as many barons, each of whom was to erect a castle on his own property, while that nobleman was to preside as lord paramount. This ridiculous plan was changed for another not much wiser. In August 1767, a division was made into sixty-seven townships, of about 20,000 acres each, which, with some reservations, were made

* Haliburton, vol. i. pp. 123, 207, 208, 248. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 352-357. Stewart, p. 149-153.

over to individuals supposed to possess claims upon the government. They became bound to settle the country in ten years, to the extent of at least one person for 200 acres. Their exertions in this respect, however, were not very effective; and when they resolved, as the only means of rendering the property valuable, to retail it in small lots, their prices were too high; nor could they grant that soccage tenure under the crown which is esteemed the most secure.*

Considerable efforts, however, were at first made to rescue the island from its state of desolation. The proprietors succeeded in procuring for it a governor independent of Nova Scotia, though, as already mentioned, there were only 150 families resident on it. Mr Patterson, appointed to that office in 1770, brought back a number of the exiled Acadians. Tracady was settled by Captain Macdonald with 300 Highlanders; and Chief Baron Montgomery made great efforts to fulfil his proprietary obligations. A beginning was thus made, a good report was spread, the colony received gradual accessions, and in 1773, a constitution being given, the first House of Assembly was called. But the governor, and General Fanning, who succeeded in 1789, were involved in contests with the proprietors and settlers, who accused them of culpable eagerness to acquire landed property for themselves: these feuds, however, seem to have caused no material injury.†

In 1799, inconvenience having been felt from the island bearing the same name with the chief towns in New Brunswick and Newfoundland, it was changed to Prince Edward, in honour of the late Duke of Kent, who, as commander in America, had directed some valuable improvements. In 1803 the late Earl of Selkirk, who gave so great an impulse to emigration, carried over an important colony, consisting of about 800 Highlanders. He made the necessary arrangements with so much judgment, that the settlers soon became very

* Haliburton, vol. i. p. 246. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 357-359.
† M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 359. Stewart, p. 157-167.

prosperous, and with the friends who have since joined them, now amount to upwards of 4000.

Governor Desbarres, who succeeded Fanning, was a man of talent; and though his administration was considered by no means prudent, yet at no former period did the colony advance so rapidly. In 1813 he was succeeded by Mr Smyth, whose violent and tyrannical conduct caused a general agitation in the colony. For several years previous to 1823, he had prevented the meeting of the House of Assembly, and when a committee of the inhabitants was appointed to draw up a petition for his removal, he caused them to be arrested. Mr Stewart, the high sheriff, however, though at the age of sixty-six, made his escape to Nova Scotia, and thence to England; where the real state of things was no sooner made known than the governor was recalled, and Lieutenant-colonel Ready appointed to succeed him. The conduct of this last gave general satisfaction; and, in conjunction with the House of Assembly, he passed many useful acts, and took various measures to promote the continued improvement of the colony.* In 1831 Colonel Young received the appointment, and ruled as lieutenant-governor till 1836, in which year Sir John Harvey was named his successor. Sir John was very popular, but being in 1837 removed to the government of New Brunswick, his place was supplied by Sir Charles A. Fitzroy.

The local features of the island will not require much detail. It presents, for the most part, the agreeable aspect already described, and does not contain any place except the capital deserving the name even of a village. It is divided into three counties, each stretching entirely across it,—King's on the east, Prince's on the west, and Queen's in the middle.

Queen's County forms the most central part of the island, occupying its entire breadth, and about forty miles in length. It contains 23 townships, 15,409 inhabitants, and 486,400 acres, exclusive of 7300 reserved for Charlottetown and royalty. This place, the capi-

* M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 301-304, 361-364.

tal of the island, is situated at the junction of three large streams,—the Hillsborough, the York, and the Elliot. The first is the principal one in the colony, and, as in most of the others, the tide reaches almost to the source, rendering it a species of inlet. The entrance, only half a mile wide, opens into a spacious basin, one of the best harbours in the gulf. The town, on the northern bank, and rising by a gentle ascent from the water, is regularly and commodiously built, each house having eighty-four feet in front, with 160 of background, affording ample room for a garden. Several large vacant spaces are left for squares. The situation and arrangement of the streets make it appear from the water particularly gay, and also considerably larger than it really is. There are four places of worship, and the usual public buildings, though all on the limited scale suited to the place. Several points might be made strong, but are at present very slightly fortified. The vicinity, especially along the Hillsborough, is extremely pleasing, adorned with fine villas. The population is estimated by Mr M'Gregor at 3400; but the census of 1833 gave only 1965, with 576 in the royalty.

The southern shore of Queen's County, to the west of Charlottetown, contains only two settlements, Crapaud and De Sable, both rather thriving. To the east, the Bay of Hillsborough, and its branch of Orwell, are studded with settlements, among which are, Great and Little Belfast, Orwell, Perth, Belle Creek, and Wood Islands. These compose Lord Selkirk's colony already described, and are very flourishing.

On the northern coast of this county, the most westerly settlements are on Grenville Bay, where New London has a safe and convenient harbour for vessels drawing not more than twelve feet of water. This, with Elizabethtown and Campbeltown around the bay, and those situated on the Stanley, Hope, and other streamlets, are cultivated and thriving. The coast round Cape Tryon, on the western border of this expanse, the seat of a fishing-establishment now disconti-

nued, is described as beautifully variegated and pleasing. On the eastern side is a fine settlement named Cavendish. Farther in this direction, Grand Rustico Bay is partly occupied by two villages of Acadians; while the rest of its shores, and of the little tributaries Whately and Hunter, are peopled by industrious emigrants from Scotland. On the last is New Glasgow, formed in 1819 by Mr Cormack, and chiefly occupied by persons from the city so named. After passing the flourishing settlement of Brackley, we come to Little Rustico or Stanhope Cove, on which is a beautiful tract, only eleven miles from Charlottetown, which receives thence eggs and fish; but this petty traffic is said to divert the inhabitants from the more solid pursuits of agriculture. East of this is Tracady Bay, well peopled by descendants of the Highland colony carried over in 1772 by Captain M'Donald of Glenaladale.*

King's County, the south-easterly part of the island, forms a kind of triangular peninsula, stretching in that direction, and terminating in East Cape. It contains 412,000 acres (besides 4000 reserved for Georgetown and royalty), 21 townships, and 8326 inhabitants. Taking up the details where we closed those of Queen's County, we find Savage Harbour admitting only small vessels, but the vicinity well planted with a Highland population. Thence extends a pleasant range of what is termed the Lake Settlement, from a minor expanse on which it borders. It terminates at the Bay of St Peter, the lands on which, and the river Morell falling into it, belong to large proprietors, the Messrs Worrell, who, having undertaken cultivation on a great scale, have erected suitable granaries, mill, and offices. The adjoining peninsula of Greenwich is agreeable, but its culture has been much retarded by a tedious Chancery suit. Thence to the eastern extremity of the island is a long line of coast called the Capes, without harbours or any distinguishing feature, yet well cultivated by

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 160-168. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 285-307. Colonial Tables 1833, p. 13.

industrious settlers from the west of Scotland and the Hebrides, who in a great measure supply the markets of Charlottetown. Turning East Cape, we find a coast densely peopled by a mixture of Highlanders and Acadians, and diversified by the bays named Colville, Fortune, Howe, and Boughton.

Georgetown, the intended capital of this county, is situated on a fine bay, receiving three of what are here called rivers,—the Cardigan, the Montague, and the Brudenell; but the largest does not flow above twelve miles, and their importance arises chiefly from the influx of the tide. The bay affords an excellent harbour, with a deep and safe entrance; and though less central than Charlottetown in respect to the island, lies more in the way of vessels sailing to or from Quebec and the fisheries. These advantages have not yet raised it to any importance, the population in 1833 not exceeding 59, though that of the royalty was 185. The surrounding settlements are flourishing, and there is some ship-building and exportation of timber. St Andrews, at the mouth of the Montague, is a rising village, where a college on a small scale has been founded; and Murray Bay, to the south, affords a well-sheltered harbour, though of somewhat difficult entrance. The lands are very fertile; but cultivation has but newly begun, the inhabitants being chiefly employed on the extensive timber and ship-building establishments of Messrs Cambridge and Sons.*

Prince's County comprises the whole western part of the island. Occupying first the entire breadth, it narrows, in proceeding upward, till it finally terminates in North Cape. It contains 467,000 acres, exclusive of a reservation of 4000 for Princetown and royalty, 23 townships, and 8343 inhabitants. A little beyond the boundary of Queen's County opens Richmond Bay, the largest in the island, being ten miles deep, nine broad, and reaching to within a mile of that of Bedeque or Halifax, on

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 289-300. Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 162-169. Colonial Tables 1833, p. 13.

the south coast. It contains six islands, and is indented by numerous smaller bays and coves. On a peninsula projecting from its eastern coast, Princetown has been laid out for the capital of the county; but it has not yet risen into any importance, the whole inhabitants in 1833 amounting to only sixteen. The surrounding tract, called the royalty, is well settled, containing 456. There are good plantations all round the bay, where some timber-trade and ship-building are also carried on. The colonists are mostly from Scotland. Lennox Island is the chief rendezvous of the remnant of the Micmac Indians.

Without the bay, on the east side, the coast presents a range of fine farms; but on the west, the aspect is by no means so favourable. No settlement of consequence occurs till we reach Cascumpeque, about sixteen miles westward, where there is a good harbour and fertile lands, occupied by Acadians and some English families. Near the North Cape is Tigniche, which the Acadians have made tolerably productive; but when we have passed that cape, we find the western face of the island almost uninhabited, and covered with lofty trees. It contains, nevertheless, some fine streams, and a great proportion of fertile land. Having no harbour accessible except for boats, it has been hitherto neglected; but the demand for unoccupied soil must soon extend in that direction. After turning West Cape, and crossing Egmont Bay, we find, at its eastern boundary, a small thriving settlement of Acadians. Bedeque or Halifax Bay, receiving two small rivers, is well settled, has a good harbour, and several ship-building establishments. After passing Seven Mile Bay and Cape Traverse, which are both occupied, we come to Tryon, a populous station, considered by Mr M'Gregor the most beautiful spot on the whole island.*

Agriculture is a branch of industry for which a level and fertile soil renders this island particularly well adapted. Wheat, to which the other maritime provinces

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 291-307. Bouchette, vol. ii. pp. 166, 167. Colonial Tables 1833, p. 13.

are found so unpropitious, is raised with decided success, and even a surplus afforded for exportation. Barley is also grown to a considerable amount; but oats form the most abundant crop. Potatoes likewise are plentiful and excellent, though Indian corn does not succeed so well as in Nova Scotia. Culinary vegetables and fruits come to perfection when properly attended to; and the breeds of domestic animals, considering the defective management, may be regarded as good. Those of horses and cattle are both small; but the former are active and serviceable, and the flesh of the latter is very delicate. Sheep thrive extremely well, and their wool has of late been much improved. Hogs, being allowed to feed constantly in the woods, have a peculiar and wild appearance; but the pork is said to be equal to that usually met with in the Irish market. The system of agriculture was marked by all the defects prevailing in the American colonies; but great exertions have lately been made to amend it, particularly by Governor Ready, who, as we have stated, instituted prizes, cattle-shows, and other means, which have produced a favourable effect. The improvement is said to be very conspicuous; and indeed the reports of 1827 and 1833, when compared together, exhibit a remarkable extension of cultivation in every department.

Number of	In 1827.	In 1833.
Acres in crop	59,501	94,647
Horses	3,727	6,299
Horned cattle	10,733	30,428
Sheep	36,056	50,510
Goats	(not mentioned)	20,702

The amount of grain in the first period is not stated; in the second, it was 128,350 bushels wheat; 38,850 barley; 261,664 oats; 1,310,063 potatoes.*

To the other species of manure the islanders are able to add a great abundance of sea-weed, and of mud mixed with shells, which, being composed in a great measure of the carbonate of lime, are extremely fertilizing. On

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 319-323. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 25; 1833, p. 14.

the whole, the produce of land, in the shape of corn and provisions, is still the chief object to which industry is directed. The exports amounted in 1835 to upwards of £30,000. The principal articles were oats, oatmeal, barley, potatoes, wheat and flour, cattle and sheep, the value of which will hereafter be particularly stated.

Notwithstanding these inducements to devote themselves to agriculture, the settlers have allowed their attention to be partially diverted to the timber-trade, which, for a time, indeed, obtained even a preference, as being more profitable, and the produce paid for in money. It afterwards decayed, not only from general causes lowering its profits, but because the wood fitted for the market was supposed to be nearly exhausted. In 1832 the value exported, beyond the limits of the colonies at least, was only £4408, which fell next year to £3601. In 1834 and 1835, however, there was a very decided revival. In the former the export amounted to £9443,—the chief items being 8600 tons of pine, ash, and birch timber, with 183,000 feet of deals and planks. In 1835 the amount was £7700, the particulars of which will be afterwards given. The building of ships is also a considerable branch; and their vessels, though some have been carelessly constructed, bear on the whole a good reputation. In 1832 there were built 44, tonnage, 4360; in 1833, 44, tonnage, 4749; in 1834, 36, tonnage, 4814; in 1835, 40, tonnage, 4966. In this last year the ships were of very various sizes, ranging from 11 to 377 tons. Mr M'Gregor says, the employment is described as wholly unprofitable; but we feel rather sceptical upon such complaints respecting any trade which continues to be carried on.*

Fishing is another branch which the vicinity of most productive banks would seem peculiarly to favour; yet it has never risen to importance. The French, it is

* Colonial Tables 1832, pp. 24, 25; 1833, p. 15; 1834, p. 13. Journal of the House of Assembly of Prince Edward Island, 1836, Appendix A.

said, discouraged it, in order that nothing might interfere with their main object of aggrandizing Louisbourg. Efforts have been since made, but, from want of capital and other causes, have produced little permanent fruit; and Charlottetown, amid so many opportunities, is still very indifferently supplied with this article. In 1832 and 1833 there were from eighteen to twenty ships employed, yielding a produce of from £500 to £800; and the business on the whole seems to have made a considerable advance, since, in 1835, there was an export of 2426 quintals of dried with a small quantity of pickled fish. The excellent shellfish are collected with some care; of the oysters 1410 barrels were, in 1835, sent to Nova Scotia.

The trade of this colony, if we consult only the official tables, would appear to be very trifling indeed. In 1833, the exports are stated at only £3956; the imports at £1693. In 1834, indeed, the exports, chiefly timber, had risen to £10,693; the imports to £2339; but as these tables exhibit merely the intercourse with Britain and foreign states, not the trade with the other colonies, they give a most imperfect idea of that of Prince Edward, which consists almost wholly of this last description. It supplies Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, with grain and provisions, receiving from them the manufactures and luxuries of England, continental Europe, and the West Indies. The exports in 1835 to Nova Scotia amounted to £14,009; the imports from it to £35,868. The tonnage outwards, 4435; inwards, 3255. The whole tonnage to these colonies in 1834 was 17,606 inwards; 18,816 outwards. To Britain it was 4140 inwards; 7242 outwards. To the rest of the world there was merely 484 inwards, and 182 outwards.*

The following is the official statement, laid before the House of Assembly, of the commerce of Prince Edward Island in the year ended 5th January 1836:—

* Colonial Tables 1832, pp. 24, 25; 1833, p. 15; 1834, p. 12.

IMPORTS.

	Great Britain.			Br. West Indies.			North American Colonies.			Foreign Countries.			Total.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Brandy....	176	8	0	....			171	16	8	....			348	4	8
Rum	28	5	0	195	19	6	5,660	12	2	....			5,884	16	10*
Wine.....	115	0	0	5	12	0	430	11	6	....			551	3	6
Sugar	3	0	0	18	6	0	2,504	2	2	....			2,525	8	2
Molasses ..	....			307	11	4	954	14	2	....			1,262	5	6
Tea	....			....			4,696	4	11	....			4,696	4	11
Tobacco...	....			....			1,333	17	11¼	....			1,333	17	11¼
Cordage ...	1,112	18	6	....			500	7	5	....			1,613	5	11
Dry goods..	2,566	18	1	76	0	0	17,829	5	0½	....			20,472	3	1½
Nails.....	303	17	5	....			993	12	3	....			1,297	9	8
Sail-cloth..	727	0	2	....			624	17	8	....			1,351	17	10
Salt	839	17	6	....			346	10	0	....			1,186	7	6
Stationery..	....			....			152	3	6	....			152	3	6
Soap	26	5	0	....			508	1	10	....			534	6	10
Iron.....	764	16	8	....			568	11	0	....			1,333	7	8
Sundries...	3,527	3	10	17	18	0	13,004	12	6	52	9	0	16,602	3	4
Totals..	10,191	10	2	621	6	10	50,290	0	11*	52	9	0	61,155	6	11

EXPORTS.

	Great Britain.			Br. West Indies.			North American Colonies.			Foreign Countries.			Total.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Oats.....	....			....			7,683	0	6	39	5	6	7,722	6	0
Barley....	....			....			4,389	19	0	....			4,389	19	0
Wheat	....			....			1,055	2	0	....			1,055	2	0
Pearl Barley.....	....			....			207	15	0	....			207	15	0
Flour.....	....			....			1,448	19	2	....			1,448	19	2
Oatmeal....	....			....			2,244	13	0	....			2,244	13	0
Potatoes ..	....			....			8,021	14	9	275	5	0	8,296	19	9
Cattle.....	....			....			3,674	15	0	160	0	0	3,834	15	0
Sheep.....	....			....			451	11	6	100	0	0	551	11	6
Beef	....			....			320	5	6	....			320	5	6
Pork.....	....			....			1,489	12	0	....			1,489	12	0
Dry Fish ..	....			....			1,264	0	0	....			1,264	0	0
Pickled Fish	4	5	0	1	10	0	101	10	0	....			107	5	0
Timber....	4,701	16	4	....			60	4	0	....			4,762	0	4
Boards and Plank ...	1,312	11	8½	50	0	0	979	13	0	....			2,342	4	8½
Lathwood, Staves&c.	310	13	10½	....			355	7	0	....			666	0	10½
Sundries ..	2,001	5	11	7	2	0	4,475	8	5	28	6	10	6,512	3	2
Totals..	8,330	12	10	58	12	0	38,223	9	10	602	17	4	47,215	12	0

The elements of society present scarcely any distinction from those described in the other colonies. They consist, first, of a handful of Indians, not supposed to exceed thirty families; then of about 5000 Acadians;

* Both these total sums exceed the particulars by £10, 0s. 2d. The error is in the original document.

next of emigrants from the different parts of the empire, but more particularly from Scotland, the natives of which form above one-half the entire population. This, which in 1827 amounted to 23,473, had in 1833 risen to 32,176. Of these, 16,739 were males, and 15,437 females; 16,207 being children under the age of sixteen.* There has been no subsequent census; but the general belief in the colony is, that the actual number does not now fall short of 40,000.

The constitution is similar to that of the neighbouring colonies, though on a smaller scale. The House of Assembly consists of eighteen members; the council of nine. The chief subject of agitation in recent times has been the number of large absentee proprietors, who have not settled their lands, to the extent at least required by their grants. The people have earnestly called for a court of escheats, by which this neglected property may be forfeited, and thrown open to public competition. Many of the small farmers also contemplated relief from the rent now paid to these absentees. The British government, however, have rejected this measure, though they have agreed to the imposition of a tax of 4s. upon each hundred acres of uncultivated land, while that under culture shall continue to pay only 2s. A bill has been brought in to this effect, by which it is expected that these distant owners will be obliged to open their lands to cultivators.

The following exhibits the financial state of the colony for the year 1836:—

RECEIPT

Impost-duty (on articles imported)	£8,997	15	1¾
Land-tax	1,412	6	2
Post-office	388	8	0
Licenses	293	3	6
Light-duty	170	15	7
Sundries	251	2	5
	£11,513	10	9¾

* Colonial Tables 1833, p. 13.

EXPENDITURE.

Roads and bridges	£1,353	12	0
Commissioners and surveyors for county lines	347	0	0
Mails, inland and foreign	316	15	0
Steam-boat	500	0	0
Schools	389	10	0
Central Academy	117	5	2
St Andrews College (2 years)	100	0	0
House of Assembly	784	16	2
Legislative Council	385	1	11
Government-house	221	9	3
Jail expenses	364	5	6
Crown prosecutions	275	8	4¾
Salary of treasurer (¾ year)	375	0	0
..... of collector and sub-collectors	495	0	0
Lunatics and paupers	183	3	9
Sundries	1,301	16	4¼
	£8,010	3	6

The Church of England, as in the neighbouring colonies, is esteemed the established one; but the professors of other creeds, besides enjoying the fullest toleration, are not obliged to contribute to its support, and are free from any civil disability. Indeed this persuasion is the least considerable of any, and supports only three clergymen. The Scotch are much more numerous, and are instructed by three teachers of the Establishment, and ten of other denominations. The Catholics consist of the Acadians and of the earlier Highland immigrants. They have a large chapel at St Andrews, the residence of their bishop, who presides also over New Brunswick and Cape Breton; likewise about twelve other places of worship. The Methodists too have ten; the Baptists only two or three. These statements show that the means of religious instruction, the want of which was deplored at an early period, bear now a very fair proportion to the number of inhabitants.

Nor has the colony shown any want of attention to the important business of education. Grammar schools are supported at Charlottetown, Princetown, and Georgetown, with a college on a small scale at St Andrews. By an act passed 20th April 1837, a board of edu-

cation is constituted to examine into the qualifications of the teachers, and apportion the funds. The district-schools are divided into two classes; the first, or lowest, being for the most common branches, to which, in the second, are to be added Latin and Mathematics. For the first it is required that the inhabitants shall subscribe £25 a-year, build a sufficient school-house, and that there shall be an attendance of twenty scholars; in which case the legislature adds £12 a-year. For the second class, there is required a subscription of £35, to which £20 is to be added. The number of private schools in 1833 was 31.*

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 346-348. Colonial Tables 1833, p. 13.

CHAPTER XII.

Newfoundland.

General Description—Abundance of Fish—The Great Bank—Discovery—Early Fisheries—First Attempts at Settlement—Colonies by Lord Baltimore and others—Persecution against the resident Fishermen—Contests with France—Extension of the Fishery—Effects of the American War—Continued Progress—Flourishing State during the last War—Subsequent Events—General Statistical Table—St John, the Capital—Eastern Coast, Ferryland, &c.—Conception and Trinity Bays, Harbour Grace, &c.—Placentia, St Mary, &c.—French Coast—St Pierre and Miquelon—Labrador, its Stations—Descriptions by Cartwright and Curtis—Settlements by the Moravian Missionaries—The Cod-fishery—Modes of conducting it—Produce—The Seal-fishery—Salmon, &c.—Agriculture—Commerce—Tables—French and American Fisheries—Population, Society, Government, &c.—Native Indians—Esquimaux.

NEWFOUNDLAND is a large island, by much the most important of those adjacent to the eastern coast of North America. On one side it almost touches that continent, while on the other it stretches far out into the Atlantic, and approaches considerably nearer to Europe than any other point of the western hemisphere. It lies between the latitudes of 46° 40′ and 51° 39′ north, and the longitudes of 52° 44′ and 59° 31′ west. Its circuit is about 1000 miles; and being within fifty of Cape Breton, it leaves a passage of that breadth into the spacious Gulf of St Lawrence. On the other side, the Straits of Belle-isle, separating it from Labrador, and not exceeding ten miles in width, afford a more circuitous and perilous entrance into the same gulf.

This island in a general view forms an irregular triangle, having for its base the southern coast, which, as well as the eastern, is broken into a succession of very deep bays, dividing the land between them into a series of peninsulas. The shores are generally bold and rugged, showing dark rocks shattered by the waves into varied and often highly picturesque forms. Great care is necessary in sailing along them, especially during the thick mists with which the atmosphere is often oppressed. The surface, consisting chiefly of granite and other primitive rocks, or of soil formed by their disintegration, is by no means generally fertile. The eastern part is traversed by continuous hills, while in the western division mountains rise usually detached from each other. From these heights descend numberless streams, many of which unite into broad channels, falling into the sea at the head of the great bays. They form also an immense variety of small lakes, which intersect the country in every direction, and render travelling in a direct line almost impracticable. There are also very extensive swamps, bearing the aspect of peat-mosses. Along the rivers, and in the recesses of the bays, there occur considerable fertile tracts, elsewhere described under the name of intervale. The very copious moisture, however, renders them, without a laborious drainage, much less fitted for grain than pasturage. Herds and flocks might be reared with advantage, and would find a ready market at the fishing-stations. The western shore, much less broken, contains a greater proportion of favourable soil, but has obtained as yet still less attention.*

Yet though the internal resources of the island are scanty, and even little improved, it has formed hitherto in a commercial view the most important of all our northern possessions. That tempestuous sea which dashes around it is rich in treasure; and in its bosom, towards the east, extends that celebrated bank which abounds in fish of the most valuable description. Cod,

* Bouchette, vol. ii. p. 180. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 141-147.

the principal one, is distinguished for its nutritive and palatable qualities, and the facility with which by the process of drying it can be preserved. This fishing-ground is estimated to extend 600 miles in length and 200 in breadth, composed almost throughout of masses of solid rock; but its sides descend precipitously, and the increase of depth is great and sudden.* The ocean flowing over this vast submarine mountain contains perhaps as much human food as a common land-territory of equal extent. The same productive character distinguishes the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador. It is remarkable that while the whale-fishery, which ranks next in importance, can be pursued with success in any one place only for a limited time, here the nations of Europe and America have for several centuries laboured indefatigably with nets, lines, and every process that can be contrived or imagined, and yet not the slightest diminution of fruitfulness has ever been observed.

These seas present also another phenomenon, from which, though of an aspect somewhat formidable, important benefits are drawn. From the wide extent of the arctic shores which form the northern boundary of this great ocean, not masses only, but large fields of ice are annually floated down into the neighbourhood of the island. On its surface are conveyed large herds of seals, which the adventurous seamen, by means to be hereafter described, contrive to catch, and draw from them a valuable store of oil.

This island, as formerly mentioned, was discovered in 1497 by Cabot. It was the general belief, till lately, that this was the first part of the American coast visited by Europeans; but it seems now to be established that the land in question was Labrador, and that Newfoundland was the territory seen immediately opposite, and named St John's. Considering their relative position, the common opinion, making the latter Prince Edward

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 195.

Island, is quite untenable; yet we should not have thought it impossible that Avalon, or some other large peninsula, might have been deemed an island, did not the white bears, which are found only on Labrador, appear to decide in its favour. Newfoundland, however, was certainly discovered in this voyage, and has always been claimed by Britain. It is astonishing, considering the obstacles which then existed to maritime enterprise, how speedily attention was drawn to it by the report of the great abundance of baccalaos, as the cod-fish were then called, found on its shores. As early as 1517 we find it stated by the crew of an English ship, that they had left forty vessels,—Portuguese, French, and Spanish,—busily employed in the fishery. Our countrymen at that period were left far behind by several other nations in the career of discovery; but they gradually advanced. Some attempts were even made to form a settlement; but that of Mr Hore in 1536 was attended by the disastrous issue mentioned in a former volume of this series. In 1583, when the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was undertaken, a number of European vessels were found busied in the fishery. That enterprising commander did not, as we formerly showed, attempt any permanent colony, but proceeded with that view farther to the south, where he met with the losses which led to the fatal termination of his undertaking.* In 1548 the fishery was relieved from several exactions formerly made by the Admiralty. In 1578, Anthony Parkhurst, writing to Hakluyt, states that the English shipping had in four years increased from thirty to fifty vessels; but adds that they could not yet match the Spaniards, who sent 100, besides twenty or thirty from Biscay for the whale-fishery; nor the French, who had 150, though of small dimensions. They were, however, cruelly harassed by pirates, who were at that period extremely numerous, and some of them apparently per-

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 499. M'Pherson's Annals of Commerce, (4 vols 4to, Edinburgh, 1806), vol. ii. p. 51. Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 52-55. Polar Seas and Regions, 4th edition, p. 190.

sons of great consequence. Whitbourne mentions Peter Easton, whom he names the arch-pirate, who had with him ten sail of well-appointed ships. In 1612, being complete master of those seas, he levied a general contribution on the vessels employed in the fishery, and impressed a hundred men for his squadron. He then went to amuse himself at the port of Ferryland, in the supposed view of afterwards proceeding to the Azores in quest of the Plate-fleet.*

About this time, however, we find the first attempt made on a large scale to colonize that northern territory. It was chiefly promoted by Mr Guy, an intelligent merchant of Bristol, who published several pamphlets, and induced a number of influential persons at court to engage in the undertaking. Among these were the celebrated Lord Bacon, Lord Northampton, keeper of the seals, and Sir Francis Tanfield, chief baron of exchequer. To them, and to forty-one other individuals, a patent was granted in 1610, under the designation of the "Treasurer and the Company of Adventurers and Planters of the citie of London and Bristol for the colony and plantation in Newfoundland." Scruples somewhat nicer than usual were felt as to the right by which the territory was occupied. It is stated to be "so destitute and desolate of inhabitance that scarce any one savage person hath in many yeeres beene seene in the most parts thereof." The limits were fixed between Capes St Mary and Bonavista, comprising that part of the eastern and southern coasts which had been hitherto the chief seat of fishery. The patentees were invested with the entire property of the land, soil, mines, including even the all-important ones of gold and silver, then dignified with the title of royal. They were endowed too with those regal attributes so profusely lavished on the early adventurers. Every privilege which could be or ever had been bestowed upon any company, was

* M'Pherson, vol. ii. p. 160. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 132. Whitbourne's Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland (London, 1623), Preface. Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1879, 1880.

declared, without any special mention, to belong to them. The only reservation was the right of fishery on the coast to all British subjects.

Mr Guy, who had kindled the spirit which led to this adventure, was intrusted with its execution, and created governor of the new colony. In 1610 he conveyed thither in three vessels thirty-nine persons, whom he employed in constructing a dwelling and storehouse, with an enclosure 120 feet by 90, in which were planted three pieces of ordnance. In a letter to Mr Slaney, the treasurer, he gives an account of the climate, in which at least the strongest prepossession is manifest. He declares that in the greatest depth of winter it was not so cold as sometimes in England; that the brooks had never been so frozen but that the slightest weight would break the ice; and that, unless for about fifteen days, the settlers could travel to great distances, and sleep out in the woods without injury. The domestic animals had thriven extremely; a fine kid had "yeaned in the dead of winter." One man had died, and four or five been severely afflicted, evidently with the scurvy; but he insists that their sole malady was laziness; and that "if they had had as good will to worke as they had good stomackes to their victuals, they would long since have bin recovered." Another died "of thought, having slaine a man in Rochester." Some other casualties had occurred, but nothing that could be justly imputed to the country or climate.

Guy returned to England the following season, leaving the colony in charge of William Colston, who gave a very opposite, and, we suspect, much truer account. He dares not, he says, "present the whole," but December was "very full of snow." After the middle of January the frost became intense; even their beer was frozen, and "the cattle did not well thrive." Twenty-five settlers were ill, mostly of scurvy; six died; the rest recovered in early spring, by the use of turnips. Guy, however, having gone back in the summer of 1612, applied himself vigorously to the arrangement of the

colony. He undertook a voyage of discovery along the coast, in the course of which he met two canoes having on board eight Indians, with whom he dealt very prudently, and held an amicable intercourse. It appears, that, having abandoned the colony in the course of twelve months, it languished greatly.

The next account is in 1615, when Captain Whitbourne was sent out to hold a court of admiralty, and provide a check for certain abuses of which the crews employed in the fishery loudly complained. These indeed seem to have been flagrant. The captains had been accustomed to leave their boats and salt on the coast, hoping to find them at the beginning of next season, instead of which, in many cases, not a vestige of them remained. The bait prepared for next day's fishing was frequently stolen out of the nets. The practice of wantonly setting fire to the forests, and of sinking at the mouth of the harbours the large stones employed in pressing the fish, threatened serious consequences. Little or no regard was paid by many to the sanctity of the Sabbath. He, however, found it easier to point out these mischiefs than to devise a remedy; and he seems to have placed his chief dependence on the formation of a respectable colony, which he urged in the most earnest manner.

About 1621 the spirit of Newfoundland settlement, having slumbered long, revived in great strength. Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, obtained the grant of a considerable tract from Cape St Mary to the Bay of Bulls, with the view of planting some of his countrymen, who, professing like himself the Roman Catholic religion, might enjoy there its free exercise. Cary, Viscount Falkland, one of the most accomplished noblemen of the age, undertook to send a colony from Ireland, of which he was then Lord-lieutenant. Dr Vaughan, a gentleman of Carmarthen, despatched a body of Welshmen under the charge of Whitbourne. Mr M'Gregor considers it very singular that the coast should be thus distributed among new adventurers, after it had been assigned in

such full and absolute property to the Bristol company. That body probably found the colonization a task beyond their power, and very little tempting as to profit. They continued, however, to receive and transmit settlers. Whitbourne gives an account of Lord Falkland's terms, to which the others were probably similar. Any one who subscribed £100 and settled at least eight persons, was to receive 2000 acres at a rent of twenty pence, to which were to be added a convenient space of ground for erecting stages and fishing, and also for embarking the produce; but for this last he was to pay 20s. annually. Any labourer who could provide himself with necessaries for a year, and would consent to work five, was then to receive 100 acres, paying only a fee of 10s. at entry and an annual quit-rent of 1d.*

Few details are given of the colonists who went out under these conditions; but they appear to have been numerous. Lord Baltimore despatched three vessels under Captain Wynne, who represented the climate as not more severe than that of England, and fitted for valuable grains, even wheat, as well as fruits and vegetables. His lordship, upon going to the colony, built at Ferryland a strong fort and a handsome house, where he resided a considerable period. About twenty years after his first plantation, there were estimated to be about 350 families on different parts of the coast. The fishery, at the same time, grew rapidly in importance. In 1626, vessels to the number of 150 sailed thither from Devonshire, and England began to supply the demand in Spain and Italy. The sea, however, was still severely harassed by pirates.

Lord Baltimore afterwards returned to England, and through the favour of Charles I. was enabled to found a flourishing colony on the more genial shores of Maryland. The settlers, sinking into comparative neglect, seem to have given up all attempts at culture, devoting

* Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1879, 1880, 1888. Whitbourne, pp. 56-60, 69-71. M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 155, 156.

their whole attention to the fishery, which they carried on by stages from the coast. At this time, too, the French began to extend their fishing, and to become active rivals to the British. In 1635, the king granted them permission to cure and dry fish, on paying five per cent. of the produce. In 1660 they formed a settlement in the Bay of Placentia, which they long continued to occupy.*

In 1663 this branch of industry was encouraged by an entire exemption from duty; but about the same period began a most relentless persecution against the colonists, excited by the jealousy of the parties carrying on the deep-sea fishery from England. In 1670, Sir Josiah Child, then the highest mercantile authority, published a treatise, complaining of the decline of this branch, which, though in 1605 it had employed 250 vessels, did not now engage more than eighty. This he imputed to the boat-fishery, and anticipated that, if the inhabitants continued to multiply, they could carry on the whole, and this important nursery of seamen be entirely destroyed. The only remedy he could conceive was that of *displanting*. So powerfully did these arguments work on the minds of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, that, instead of acceding to the request made for a governor, they determined to root out the entire colony, and reduce the land to a desert. Sir John Berry was sent with strict injunctions to execute this ruthless determination, to burn the houses, and drive out the settlers. That officer, however, seems to have mitigated as much as possible his cruel commission, and sent home strong remonstrances as to the misery which he had reluctantly occasioned. In 1676, Downing, a resident, procured an order from the king that the people should not be farther molested; but strict injunctions were issued, that no vessel should carry out any emigrants, or permit them to settle. Grievous complaints were made of the extent to which

* M'Pherson, vol. ii. pp. 338, 389, 491.

this regulation was evaded, yet no very rigorous measures were adopted; and in 1697 a report was published by the Board of Trade, stating that a number of inhabitants, not exceeding a thousand, might be found useful, if employed in the construction of boats, stages, and other materials for the fishery.*

During the war with France, which broke out in consequence of the revolution of 1688, the settlements in Newfoundland endured great vicissitudes. Though Britain had uniformly claimed the exclusive sovereignty of the island, yet the French, as already observed, had by favour or oversight been allowed full freedom of fishing, and had even formed several settlements. Having fortified these, they showed an evident wish to get possession of the whole island,—a circumstance which was stated among the grounds of war. In 1692, Commander Williams, who was sent with a force against Placentia, succeeded only in destroying a portion of the works; while, in 1696, the French, reinforced by a squadron from Europe, attacked St John, but without success. The place, however, having suffered severely, another armament before the end of the year gained possession of and set it on fire. Upon this, Ibberville, with a body of troops, rooted out all the English stations, except Bonavista and Carbonier. A fleet, with 1500 men on board, was sent out under Admiral Nevil and Sir John Gibson, in hope of retrieving these disasters; but, through the misconduct of the commanders, nothing was effected. The contest was terminated in 1698 by the Peace of Ryswick, which restored every thing to the same state as before the commencement of hostilities.† The same year, an act was passed for the encouragement of the fishery, now declared free to all his majesty's subjects. In order to remedy the disorders long complained of, it was directed that the first ship arriving at any station, under the title of admiral, and the second and third, under those of rear and vice admirals, should be invested

* M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 158, 159. † Martin, pp. 242, 243.

with a certain jurisdiction over the others. These names are considered by Mr M'Gregor as ridiculous; but in fact they were applied at that time as readily to ships as to commanders. The expedient itself was soon found very inadequate; for the captains of the vessels, notwithstanding their high titles, were frequently induced by presents of fish to give corrupt decisions; and a general laxity prevailed, for which it was not easy to find a remedy.*

The war of the succession exposed the colony again to the attacks of the French, who, though generally unfortunate in that contest, were favoured by local situation in their proceedings at Newfoundland. Sir John Leake indeed, in 1702, captured several of their smaller settlements, and took a number of prizes; but Admiral Graydon, who was sent out in the following year, returned without effecting any thing. In 1705, the troops in Placentia, reinforced by 500 men from Canada, successfully attacked the British colonists. In 1708, their commander, St Ovide, surprised and completely destroyed St John, and they became masters of every English station, except Carbonier. An expedition under Captain Martin and Colonel Nicholson in vain attempted to recover these possessions. The attention of our government during this war was almost entirely engrossed by great events on the continent of Europe; but their splendid successes here enabled them, at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, to do more than redeem all their losses in that distant quarter. Louis XIV. was compelled by the pressure of circumstances to yield up all his possessions on the coast of Newfoundland. He retained, however, for his subjects the right to erect huts and stages for fishing along part of the eastern coast, from Cape Bonavista to the northern point, and thence along the western as far as Point Riche. Of this permission they availed themselves so actively, that, in 1721, they had 400 vessels employed, and not

* M'Pherson, vol. ii. pp. 706, 707. M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 160, 161.

only supplied their own country, but rivalled us in the trade to Spain and the Mediterranean.*

The English trade continued also to increase, owing to greater attention being paid to the maintenance of order in this important settlement. In 1729, on the representation of Lord Vere Beauclerk, who commanded on the station, the colony was withdrawn from its nominal dependence on Nova Scotia. Captain Osborne of the Squirrel was named governor, and empowered to appoint justices of the peace and other officers; and, to enable them to perform their duties aright, copies of "Shaw's Practical Justice of the Peace," and of the chief acts relating to the country, were sent to the eleven principal stations. The fishing adventurers, however, accustomed to a roving life, submitted very unwillingly to any semblance of regular jurisdiction. They even craved its abolition; but government persevered in their own plan, and in 1742 appointed a court of admiralty. As much inconvenience arose from the local authorities not having the power of life and death, Captain Drake in 1751 received authority to appoint commissioners of oyer and terminer, for the exercise of criminal justice.

In the war which broke out in 1756, the French, after having sustained some severe losses, succeeded so far as to obtain possession of St John and some other important stations. These were, however, soon retaken; and by the peace of Paris in 1763 the arrangements with regard to the fishery were restored to the same state as before the contest.†

After the conclusion of this treaty, the British government began to pay increased attention to every thing connected with the fishery; and upon due investigation it was resolved to discontinue all attempts to check the resident fishermen. It appeared, indeed, that their branch of industry, through local advantages, and in

* Martin, p. 246. M'Pherson, vol. iii. p. 28.
† M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 163-165.

spite of every opposition, had become much more productive than that of the ships. Thus, while the latter employed 177 vessels, the tonnage of which was 17,268, and produced 136,840 quintals of fish, the former cured 310,576 quintals. A considerable quantity was also taken by what were termed by-boats, and other vessels from different parts of British America. The total export to foreign countries amounted to 493,654 quintals, to which were added seal-oil to the value of £5109, and furs valued at £980. At this time, too, the fisheries on the Labrador coast began to rise into importance. Whales and seals, however, were almost the only objects of pursuit, which was carried on by 117 sloops and schooners from British America, and yielded a produce valued at £100,000. In 1763, this coast being politically separated from Canada, was annexed to Newfoundland; and in 1764, a collector and comptroller of customs were established at St John.*

The unhappy contest with the American colonies which ended in their separation from Great Britain, materially unhinged the arrangements of the fishery. In 1775, when the hostile movements appeared to be fully organized, the question arose, Whether the rebels, having renounced all commercial intercourse with the mother country, were entitled to participate in this lucrative trade? It was urged in reply by the merchants of London that, if excluded, a number of industrious men would be ruined, and driven to recruit the forces of the enemy. The opposite opinion, supported by the merchants of Poole, prevailed in the cabinet; the exclusion was enforced, and produced not only all the evils which had been predicted, but another, the dread of which had been regarded as chimerical. These colonies had supplied the ships employed in the fishery with all their provisions; and this intercourse being still left open to them, it appeared improbable that they would renounce the large profits which it afforded. Animated, however,

* M'Pherson, vol. iii. pp. 377, 423, 424. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 166.

by strong feelings of revenge, they prohibited the conveyance of any supplies whatever to the British; and when the vessels went out, they found with dismay, that, instead of prosecuting the object of their voyage, they must consider only how to escape starvation. They found it necessary either to return home, or to repair to some of the other colonies. In future years, the want was met, though with great cost and difficulty; and the settlements meantime were not disturbed by any hostile invasion. At the close, however, Britain, pressed by a confederacy of the maritime powers, was obliged to grant terms somewhat more favourable. The French not only retained their privilege of fishing, and of building huts and stages, upon a somewhat extended line of coast; but it was stipulated that English subjects should remove from all establishments formed within the limits assigned to these foreigners; and in 1788 instructions were sent to enforce this article. Even the Americans obtained conditions which have been deeply lamented by zealous patriots, and will be afterwards particularly noticed.*

Britain, however, made at this time great exertions, and granted liberal bounties for the encouragement of her fisheries. A law passed in 1775 allowed £40 to the first twenty-five ships, £20 to the next hundred, and £10 to the second hundred, which should land a cargo of fish in Newfoundland before the 15th July, and proceed to the banks for a second lading. In 1786, this bounty was renewed for ten years with some additions.

In 1785, it appeared that the permanent inhabitants amounted to 10,244, who had 8034 acres under cultivation. As their numbers and wealth increased, they more and more felt the want of some better system of law than could be administered by naval officers and mercantile captains. In 1789, Admiral Milbanke, who went out as governor, received authority to establish a new court; and as this did not afford satisfaction, power

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 168-170.

was given in 1792 to settle a chief justice with surrogate courts in the principal districts.*

The long war that now ensued between Britain and France was not attended with any evil to Newfoundland, being all the while completely protected by our navy; and, in point of fact, during its latter period especially, the fisheries rose to a pitch of prosperity quite unprecedented. This country, being able to exclude all the other European states, while America had not yet resources sufficient to enter into very formidable rivalry, enjoyed almost a monopoly of that trade. In 1814, the exports are said to have risen to the enormous amount of £2,831,528. At the conclusion of peace in 1814, a deputation of merchants and others connected with Newfoundland entreated government not to concede to France her extensive rights of fishery. As that power, however, was considered by the restoration of Louis XVIII. to have been converted from an enemy into an ally, the liberal policy was adopted of giving back all her foreign possessions, exactly as they stood at the commencement of the war. But Newfoundland suffered very severely from this renewed competition, both in the diminution of the fishery, and the serious fall in the value of its produce. These losses, no doubt, have been in a great measure repaired, and the cod-fishery, though it has never reached the height it once did, has been steadily supported, while that of seals has been vastly extended.†

The government of this island was long administered by naval commanders appointed to cruise on the fishing-station, but who returned to Britain in winter; among whom are found Rodney, Byng, Gambier, and other eminent names. Within the last ten or twelve years, however, it has been deemed more eligible to have a resident governor, whose functions are entirely limited to this important office. It has been successively held by Sir

* M'Pherson, vol. iii. p. 576; vol. iv. pp. 100, 258. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 172.

† M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 174, 239. Martin, p. 327.

Charles Hamilton, Sir Thomas Cochrane, and Captain Prescott, who is at present invested with this authority. At the same time also, a warm controversy arose respecting a representative assembly, which was earnestly demanded by the resident inhabitants, while the merchants in Britain connected with the island dreaded lest it should interfere with the regular course of business. In 1832, however, it was determined to grant this boon, and upon an extremely liberal footing, the assembly being elected by a suffrage almost universal. This system has hitherto worked very inharmoniously, the popular body having been in a state of violent collision, both with the executive and the mercantile interest. The session of 1837 was opened by their demanding to elect their own clerk, sergeant-at-arms, and a constable, —a right which the constitution had not vested in them. In the course of the sittings they threw one of the judges into prison. The influence of the Catholic clergy in the elections is much complained of; but in the absence of any official documents our information is very imperfect. The principal merchants, it is said, have made remonstrances to the government at home, representing that trade is injured and property rendered insecure by the proceedings of the assembly. On the other hand, that body presented an address to Lord Durham, expressing the strongest sentiments of loyalty, and denying any intention to disturb the peace of the community.

In entering upon the description of the present state of Newfoundland, we shall begin by placing before our readers the following important Table, the result of the census of 1836. It will be found to exhibit, not only the classified population of each district, but the number and size of fishing vessels, the extent and produce of agriculture, the amount of live stock, the state of public instruction, and the distribution of the people according to their religious belief.

Districts.	No. of Dwelling-houses.	FAMILY. Males. Under 14 years.	Males. 14 to 60 years.	Males. Upwards of 60.	Females. Under 14 years.	Females. 14 to 60 years.	Females. Upwards of 60.	Number of Servants. Males.	Number of Servants. Females.	Total Population.	Number of Fishing-boats. Under 15 Gutls.	Number of Fishing-boats. From 15 to 30.	Number of Fishing-boats. Upwards of 30.	Number of Acres under cultivation.	Bushels of Potatoes yearly.	Bushels of Oats or other Grain.	Tons of Hay.	Number of Horses.	Neat Cattle.	Hogs.	Sheep.	Schools.	Male Pupils.	Female Pupils.	Protestant Episcopalians.	Protestant Dissenters.	Roman Catholics.
St John...	2781	3718	4984	166	3611	4123	201	1371	752	18926	700	43	13	4290	148425	5602	3808	528	1307	175	579	37	1041	1379	3813	1057	14056
Conception Bay.....	3521	4971	5289	202	4452	4842	261	2380	818	23215	1157	46	109	2873	746869	4184	940	638	1034	1632	1187	22	621	492	6819	6333	10063
Trinity Bay	959	1546	1565	108	1372	1320	110	532	250	6803	798	168	11	308¾	48317	4	167¾	51	692	205	74	2	158	127	4098	1639	1066
Bonavista Bay.....	801	1182	1149	98	1059	1010	71	469	145	5183	181	197	51	356	62287	56	184	57	377	693	60	6	128	136	3473	461	1249
Fogo.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ferryland.	679	882	1223	77	758	878	53	1897	92	5860	370	139	77	1043½	55983	101	487½	112	402	103	172	6	133	105	313	..	4798
Placentia & St Mary	712	1024	853	68	989	925	49	699	94	4701	297	128	90	1356½	67585	363	866½	108	1225	310	584	4	90	90	710	6	3985
Burin.....	461	639	664	35	644	605	32	437	84	3140	169	55	138	623	30357	..	338	54	628	22	168	1	8	12	671	1095	1374
FortuneBay	454	680	600	69	623	604	28	508	17	3129	632	21	19	211½	8304	..	184	3	167	15	148	..	..	..	2821	..	308
Total	10368	14642	16327	823	13508	14307	805	8293	2252	70957	4304	797	508	11062½	1168127	10310	6975½	1551	5832	3155	2972	78	2179	2341	22718	10591	36899

The chief British settlements are on the large peninsula named Avalon, constituting the south-eastern part of the island. It is formed by the deep bays of Trinity and Placentia, separated only by an isthmus of about three miles broad. The smaller parallel bays of St Mary and Conception divide the district into three lesser peninsulas, giving to it an uncommon extent and variety of coast; while the proximity to Europe, and still more to the Great Bank, has always caused it to be viewed as the most valuable part of Newfoundland. Even since the coast-fishery became so important, the exhaustless supply found in these winding bays, and the facility with which it can be carried on from stages erected on the shore, preserve for this station its original consequence.

St John, the capital, is not situated in any of those bays, but on the most eastern part of the coast facing the great bank and the expanse of the Atlantic. This position is very convenient for ships coming either from Europe or America, and particularly for the deep sea and seal fisheries. That, too, carried on within its own harbour is most abundant, and, from the singular fertility of the cod, is still as unexhausted as if it were begun every year on a fresh field. This port is spacious and secure, having its entrance guarded by lofty and almost perpendicular cliffs, forming a fine specimen of the grand scenery of the island.* The passage, though narrow, admitting only one large vessel at a time, is easy and on the whole secure, there being only at a single point a rocky shelf, against which the navigator must guard. Batteries stand at different points on the shore, and behind the harbour rises a steep hill with a signal-post. For further security, Forts Townshend and William rise at a due distance in the rear of the town.

St John, even after all its improvements, still bears the aspect of a fishing-station. It consists of Water Street, about a mile in length, narrow, and extending

* See Vignette Title to this Volume.

entirely along the sea, into which at almost every spot projects that species of frame or stage called a fish-flake. These machines at no distant period reached across the streets, and the passengers were obliged to walk under them; for the great object with the inhabitants has always been to procure as much space as possible for these erections. This street, from forty to fifty feet broad, contains some handsome stone houses, but irregularly mixed with a larger number of somewhat humble wooden tenements. Fort Townshend used to be the governor's residence, but of late a very splendid mansion has been erected at an expense originally estimated at £9000, but which it is supposed will amount to the enormous sum of £50,000.

The following tables of the exports and imports at St John for the first quarter of 1837 will interest the mercantile reader :—

EXPORTS.

To what Country.	Nature of Exports.	Value.
Portugal	Dried cod fish	£20,539 16 0
British West Indies	....	8,373 12 0
Brazils	....	7,207 16 0
British North America	....	780 0 0
Scotland	....	1,793 8 0
Ireland	....	3,779 8 0
Other parts	....	1,073 8 0
Great Britain and Ireland	Seal and cod oil	13,727 0 0
	Sundries	167 9 0
	Total	£57,441 17 0

IMPORTS.

From what Country.	Nature of Imports.	Value.
Portugal	Salt	£792 0 0
British West Indies	Rum, molasses	3,240 0 0
Cape Breton, Nova Scotia	Beef, butter, oats, coals	506 6 0 / 1,190 12 0
Ireland	Butter, beef, pork	2,109 19 0
England	Tea, soap, candles	17,825 7 6
Hamburg	Bread, butter, &c.	2,106 10 0
United States	Apples, nuts, pork	846 5 0
	Total	£28,616 19 6

The ground around the town is rugged, and the soil light and stony, affording little scope for agriculture.

Yet a certain extent in the immediate vicinity has been brought under cultivation, yielding potatoes and vegetables for the immediate supply of the place. Beyond this the trees which formerly covered the whole country have been entirely cut down for fuel, leaving only the stumps, and giving to the tract a most naked appearance. To the eye of imagination it almost seems as if some huge scythe had been commissioned to shave the surface of hill and hollow. At a certain distance, however, the original forest of fir and spruce still clothes the face of the land.*

The rest of the eastern coast is bordered by a rocky screen, resembling in many parts a continuous wall, yet broken by openings into bays, forming at once most commodious harbours and admirable fishing-stations. In each of these are at least a few settlers employed in the latter occupation; but none can bear any comparison with the capital. The Bay of Bulls, between two lofty capes, extends two miles into the land, and if one sunken rock be carefully avoided, it will be found a safe retreat. A number of fishing-establishments scattered round the shores are somewhat remarkable for order and cleanliness, while the houses, though only of wood, are neat and comfortable. A path leads to St John, by which, though very imperfect, the French in 1762 reached and took that capital. Brigus of late has risen into considerable importance. Broyle Bay is spacious and safe, requiring only some precaution in entering; and the rocky cape at its mouth, resembling an enormous saddle, forms an excellent landmark. Capelin Bay, a most convenient harbour, has been frequently made the rendezvous of the Newfoundland fleets for the Mediterranean; yet so common is this advantage that it has here attracted only a limited population.

A little southward of Capelin Bay is another on which stands Ferryland, the earliest regular settlement

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 186-190. Chappell, p. 41-46. Martin, p. 272.

on the island, and for some time the residence of Lord Baltimore. The harbour, enclosed and secure like a dock formed by art, is called "the Pool," and the entrance though narrow is not dangerous. The population raises it to the level of a large and respectable English village. One writer represents it as surrounded by a considerable extent of cultivated land, while Mr Chappell, who actually visited it, describes the vicinity as rocky and destitute of every trace of vegetation. Our table will show that the district of which it forms the capital contains but a limited portion of improved soil. Between it and the south-eastern point are the smaller bays and settlements of Aquafort, Fermoise, and Renowes. After turning Cape Race, the most southern part of the coast is found broken by Trepassey Bay, the eastern shores of which are dangerous; but the western contain a good harbour with some inhabitants.*

The other settlements of Avalon are upon its four great bays, particularly the two northern ones, Conception and Trinity; the former of which is the most flourishing part of the whole island, and contains 23,000 inhabitants. It will appear also by the table that cultivation is comparatively extensive, particularly in potatoes, of which this district produces more than all the others put together. The bay is about fifty miles long and twenty broad; the shores consisting chiefly of bold and lofty cliffs, many of them projecting far into the sea and forming deep recesses that afford excellent fishing-stations. Of these the principal, named Harbour Grace, is about ten miles from the mouth, and ranks next in importance to St John. The port is safe, except in being, like the others on this coast, exposed to violent easterly winds, and the beach is very convenient for fishing. The population is estimated at 5000. There are several churches belonging to different denominations, with a good school; and there is besides the convenience of a newspaper. According to our corres-

* Chappell, pp. 24-26, 228.

pondent, the vicinity bears no mark of having ever been touched by plough or spade. Carbonier, or Collier's Harbour, nearer the mouth of the bay on the same side, is also important, though not quite so secure; while at the head is another considerable station named Holyrood. On the eastern side the only place of any consequence is Portugal Cove, whence there is a good road across the country to St John, and passengers from that capital can readily cross here to Harbour Grace and the other settlements on the western coast.

Trinity Bay, west of Conception, ranks next, though much inferior, having not quite 7000 settlers. It is nevertheless more extensive, being seventy miles long and from twenty to twenty-five broad. Its wide circuit is broken into almost numberless coves, forming a corresponding variety of little fishing-stations; but the only important one is at Trinity Harbour on the north-west side, and not far from the entrance.

The southern bays of Trepassey, St Mary, and Placentia, present the same general aspect,—rocky shores, broken into numerous inlets, where the occupation of fishing is universally carried on. In settlements, however, they are much inferior to the northern bays, and have only about 5000 inhabitants. Placentia, the largest, contains the station of the same name, which the French made the capital of their possessions on the island, and had at one time strongly fortified. It has a fine harbour capable of containing 150 vessels. St Mary Bay, about thirty miles deep, is separated by a tract of only ten miles from the head of Conception Bay, and of eight from that of Trinity. Placentia Bay, about sixty miles deep, is separated from the last mentioned by a space of scarcely three miles. This forms the isthmus by which Avalon is connected with the main body of Newfoundland, and is so low that boats can be hauled across.*

Our table exhibits a district named Burin, with

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 197-202.

3140 inhabitants, which appears to consist of the long peninsula intervening between the bays of Placentia and Fortune. The latter is spacious, and its shores of the usual character, but peculiarly rugged and uncultivated. Fishing is carried on to a considerable extent; and there is a large establishment for the capture of a species of hump-backed whales which abound in the neighbouring seas. The British settlements do not at present extend farther to the westward.

Proceeding to the coast north of Avalon, we find the large opening of Bonavista, much broader than any of those mentioned, but not nearly so deep, and forming rather a great bend of the coast than one of those long inlets which penetrate the district. Diversified, however, by numerous coves and bays, and containing a vast number of islands, it affords excellent fishing, which supports above 5000 settlers. The shore then taking a direction almost due west, forms successively the Bay of Gander, the much more spacious one of Exploits, and another, not inconsiderable, named Notre Dame. The most important settlements are upon the large island of Fogo, near the mouth of the first, and the group of Twillingate facing the second: these together support a population exceeding 3000. The name of Exploits is derived from the repeated contests maintained there with the Red Indians, who formerly frequented this quarter in great numbers, but have now almost entirely disappeared. Into this bay flows a river of the same name, the largest in the island, abounding in salmon.*

Beyond Cape St John, the northern limit of Notre Dame Bay, extends what may be termed the French coast, where that nation still enjoy a right of fishery, but where neither they nor the British are allowed to form any permanent settlement. It is therefore almost quite destitute of fixed habitations and imperfectly known. The French, however, allow a limited number of our

* M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 199, 203.

countrymen to reside, and even to fish, on condition of protecting their machinery and keeping it in order during their absence in winter or on other occasions.

The coast from the cape just mentioned to the northern extremity of Newfoundland is neither so variegated nor commodious as that now surveyed, yet it includes several deep bays, particularly those called White and Hare, as well as a smaller one named Canada. These with other places afford a number of excellent fishing-stations. Croque Harbour, though comparatively small, contains important establishments, and is the head-quarters of the French commodore. Quirpon island and harbour form the most northerly point of Newfoundland, and between it and Burnt Cape on the west is a considerable bay named Pistolet.

The western coast, terminating with Cape Ray, was by the treaty of 1783 annexed to the French domain. Not being an ocean-coast, it is much less broken than the eastern, a great part even stretching in a uniform and continuous line. It is hence not nearly so favourable for fishing, and indeed along a considerable extent of its northern limits the cod is entirely wanting. The soil is generally more fertile; but under existing regulations this advantage cannot be available to either party. Ingornachoix Bay is one of the noblest harbours in the world; its branch, called Port Saunders, being so landlocked that ninety or a hundred vessels may lie perfectly secure from every wind. Yet owing to the total absence of cod it is completely uninhabited, and visited only by vessels on their way to Labrador. Bonne Bay, farther to the south, is surrounded by perpendicular rocks of great height, appearing as if split to their foundations by some violent convulsion of nature. The approach is difficult and dangerous, and the anchorage within by no means secure: yet it has some small fishing-establishments and about thirty settlers. The spacious opening of the Bay of Islands contains several insulated spots such as those named Pearl, Tweed, and Harbour, and receives two or three rivers, particularly the Hum-

ber, from a lake more than a hundred miles from its mouth. St George Bay, still farther south, is also very spacious, and its harbour has good anchorage, though exposed to south-west winds, which render necessary some precaution in entering. Cod is abundant, yet no considerable establishments appear to exist. There are upwards of a hundred French and English fishermen, with a colony of Micmac Indians, who about 1780 migrated from Cape Breton, and amount now to nearly a hundred. Nothing else remarkable occurs on this coast till it terminates in the lofty and naked promontory of Cape Ray.*

To this section belong the two small islands of St Pierre and Miquelon, near the mouth of Fortune Bay, ceded to the French in entire sovereignty, and made the headquarters of their fisheries. They maintain here a governor with a small garrison, but are not allowed to erect fortifications. The surface is high and rugged, yielding only shrubs, moss, and grass, though the shores afford good fishing-stations.†

LABRADOR forms an extensive appendage to Newfoundland, its coast reaching from 50° to 61° north latitude. It is generally described as one of the most dreary and naked regions on the face of the globe. Scarcely any thing appears except high rocks, destitute of vegetation, and shattered into fragments. It presents in fact under an aggravated form that stern aspect which distinguishes the eastern coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Yet according to Mr Cartwright, who spent many years in the country, this representation, derived from the view of its iron-bound coast, has been carried much too far. On penetrating a little way into the interior, or even to the head of the bays, the surface is found thickly clothed with pine-trees and a profusion of delicate berries. It is every where most copiously irrigated by brooks, streams, ponds, and lakes. The

* Martin, p. 256-276. Chappell, pp. 86, 148, 149, 166.
† M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 204.

country seems, therefore, not incapable of cultivation, yet many changes must take place before it can repay the necessary labour. Its wealth as yet is derived almost solely from the sea. Like the other coasts mentioned, and even in a greater degree, it is broken into deep bays, bordered by thousands of islands, and affording at once safe harbours and productive fishing-stations.

The fishery on the Labrador shore is nearly confined to the south-eastern tract opposite to Newfoundland, and separated from it by the Straits of Belleisle. It did not begin till about a century ago, but has since made such advances as almost to rival that of Newfoundland. While its bays are equally rich in cod, the take of salmon is much more extensive, and that of seals affords an occupation which fills up intervals otherwise unemployed. The fur-trade, too, affords an advantageous winter occupation.*

The settlements on this coast can in no case aspire to the character of towns, or even of villages. They are merely stations where companies from England or Newfoundland maintain buildings and machinery, to which vessels are sent during the summer. In winter, a few inhabitants left to take care of them also employ themselves in capturing seals and fur-bearing animals. Bradore Bay, containing the most southerly of these settlements, has deep water, but is rendered extremely dangerous by a vast number of small rocks. It presents only about ten inhabitants. L'Anse le Blanc, or l'Anse le Clair, has about fifty people and the best seal-fishery on the straits, but its harbour cannot receive large vessels. Forteau Bay, about ten miles to the north-east, contains the most considerable of all the settlements, though the anchorage be not very secure. The captain who first arrives here is dignified with the title of fishing-admiral, and enjoys a certain jurisdiction over the coast. One side is occupied by

* Cartwright's Journal of a Residence on the Coast of Labrador (3 vols 4to), vol. iii. p. 221-223.

English, the other by Guernsey men ; the former remain through the winter, while the latter quit the coast in autumn ; but these last are said to be the more active fishers.

The next open bay is Anse le Loup, in the narrowest part of the straits, where they are only ten miles wide. It is the safest in this quarter, with a commodious entrance, and sheltered by lofty precipitous mountains on the east and west, though somewhat exposed to the north. There is a fine view of the bold shores on each side of the channel ; and the fisheries, both of cod and seal, are considerable.

Proceeding northward of the straits, the navigator descries the island of Belleisle, high and barren, against which the foaming waves of the Atlantic perpetually dash. No attempt has been made to form any settlement on its desolate shores. It is connected by a chain of islets with Cape Charles, the most easterly point of the American continent, and a harbour bearing its name shelters a small fishing-station. Other hamlets are found in Chateau Bay, the bounding cape of which, composed of magnificent ranges of basaltic columns, resembles a great natural castle,—and also in Pitt's Harbour, a deep gulf surrounded by lofty mountains. To the north-west, Sandwich Bay, with eight or nine families, terminates the range of British settlements.*

To the above list, for which we are indebted to Mr Chappell, a considerable number might probably be added. An intelligent correspondent, proceeding on facts furnished by the sheriff, states that important establishments are found at Battle, Francis, Grady, and Top Harbours, and on Dumplin Island.

The more northerly part of this coast was surveyed in 1773 by Lieutenant Roger Curtis, who communicated the result of his observations to the Royal Society. He reports that he had minutely examined the whole district as high as latitude 59° 10′, and, being ac-

* Chappell, pp. 95-98, 108-119, 157-162.

companied by an Indian who knew every rock and shoal, was enabled to form a chart much superior to any preceding one. The outline of the coast was very difficult to trace, from its being studded with almost innumerable islands, many of which stretched a long way out to sea; and this had given rise to an erroneous impression that the country was penetrated by deep inlets. The shores were bordered by continuous ranges of naked rock, generally elevated, sometimes towering to an astonishing height, and exhibiting prospects the most striking and romantic. The islands of ice, coming from the north, were at once terrific and dangerous; yet they were viewed with pleasure as announcing the approach of summer. This coast enjoys a happy exemption from those gloomy fogs which oppress Newfoundland: it is not even much exposed to violent gales. The fishery consists chiefly in the taking of whales, cod, and salmon. Lobsters and the other shell species are deficient, being, as we imagine, found principally among low clay-formed rocks, covered by the tide, and not connected with those which, as here, shoot up abruptly and precipitously from their base. The interior consists only of ridges, partly naked, partly covered with stunted shrubs: and between them extend valleys filled with low crooked trees, which in the progress northward became always more diminutive. There is a singular deficiency of springs; but the rains and melted snows accumulate in small lakes, the surplus waters of which overflow in numerous brooks, rolling in most cases over rocky beds. In the northern parts, timber is almost entirely wanting, a substitute for which is supplied by the bones of whales and other large sea-animals, aided by a few pieces of drift-wood, wafted, as is supposed, from Norway or Lapland.*

The remotest and most desolate part of this region, beyond the limits of regular settlement, and tenanted

* Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, vol. lxiv. p. 372-378.

only by wandering Esquimaux, has long been the seat of missionary establishments, so important as to be well deserving of notice. They were instituted by the Moravian Brethren, a body of men who in this department of Christian benevolence have distinguished themselves by perseverance, devotedness, and sound judgment. They had early formed, with great success, a mission at Herrnhut and other points on the western coast of Greenland. John Christian Erhardt, one of their number, having, in his employment as a pilot, visited it in 1749, and learned that a similar people inhabited the opposite coast, conceived an ardent zeal for extending to them the same benefits. This enterprise was seconded by Count Zinzendorff, the head of the order; and, in 1752, three London merchants, Nisbet, Grace, and Bell, fitted out a vessel for the joint purpose of trade and religious instruction. A wooden house was conveyed thither in frame; but after they had landed, and affairs seemed in a promising state, Erhardt and six others were murdered by the natives for the sake of their property. All the rest were then obliged to return.

The brethren, however, were not discouraged, and, in 1764, Jens Haven, a carpenter, after long revolving the design, determined to attempt making his way by Newfoundland. Sir Hugh Palliser, then governor, afforded him every encouragement; but the cruel treatment inflicted on the natives had rendered them so irreconcilably hostile to the British, that they were wont to flee at their approach, and destroy such as fell into their hands. In the month of September, Haven found an opportunity of addressing an Esquimaux in his own language, and, entering into familiar conversation, suffered himself to be led to a large party, with whom he held friendly intercourse. From his language and kindly address they welcomed him as one of themselves. On his return to England with this favourable report, another ship was sent out, and an amicable communication on a greater scale was commenced. Still the missionaries had not materials for forming a colony; and notwithstanding the

favourable accounts which they carried home, particular circumstances suspended during five years any farther operations.*

Meantime, in 1768, a contest arose between the Europeans and the natives, when a number of the latter were taken prisoners; two of whom, Mikak, a woman, and her son Karpik, were brought to London, where they excited a good deal of curiosity. The former being a very intelligent person, was much struck with the superior benefits of social life, and became anxious to communicate some of them to her countrymen. Chancing to meet with Haven, whom she had known in Labrador, she entreated him to fulfil his purpose of forming a mission in that province. His zeal was rekindled, and Sir Hugh Palliser and other friends procured for him, through the Board of Trade, a grant of 100,000 acres, with a recommendation to the Governor of Newfoundland to afford his aid. A ship was fitted out, in which the carpenter sailed with two companions, Drachart and Jenson, and by means of Mikak easily opened a very cordial communication with her kinsmen. Notwithstanding the grant, it was very properly determined to negotiate a purchase, on which they unanimously cried out,—"Pay, pay!" intimating their readiness on these terms to give any quantity of land which might be desired. The brethren, having fixed on a suitable place, returned, and, in the course of the winter, collected a party of fourteen, who agreed to combine in forming a permanent mission. They sailed on the 8th May 1771, and arrived on the 9th August at the appointed spot, in 56° 36′ north latitude, which they named Nain. They immediately laid the foundation of a wooden house, enclosing it with a palisade, which however proved superfluous, as the natives, instead of any disposition to do mischief, eagerly rendered every service. The brethren, while supplying their disciples with useful instruments, made it a rule that something should always be

* Moravians in Labrador (18mo, Edinburgh, 1835), pp. 28, 31-34, 37, 38, 43, 62, 63.

taken in return, to prevent them from viewing themselves as dependent upon the mission. In 1773 they were visited by Lieutenant Curtis, whose voyage has been already noticed, and who had been instructed to ascertain if they still survived. He was much surprised, instead of dark, sour, starving fanatics, dwelling in huts of earth, to find them cheerful, comfortable, and on the best terms with the inhabitants. Yet the effect of their instructions was much impaired by the migratory habits of their pupils, who almost all left the settlement during winter. By degrees, however, about eighty were induced to remain, and constitute a permanent congregation. Two other stations were soon afterwards formed, which had the effect of bringing them in contact with nearly the whole race; one at Okkak, in 58° 20′, about 120 miles north of Nain, and another at Hopedale, in 55° 40′.

The brethren thus made a favourable beginning, and found no difficulty in inducing many of the natives to attend their meetings, and even to avow an outward profession of Christianity. Yet they endured many vicissitudes and much anxiety as to the spiritual condition of their converts. It was soon discovered that the great question with the proselytes was, whether the new observances would be favourable to their temporal interest. Being warned not to invoke Torngak, but to call only upon Jesus, they inquired if they would thereby get good weather, and catch the whale more easily. On being told of the mercy and power of the Saviour, they expressed a hope, that since such a great lord was their friend, he would secure them from the Kablunats (Europeans), and assist them against the Kraler, a hostile tribe to the northward. It was found that some of the most decided professors still carried on their magical and superstitious practices in secret. Mikak herself, in whom they had hoped to find a powerful instrument of conversion, retained still her eminence as a magician; and happening once to lodge under her roof, they had the affliction, during the whole night, to hear the house resound with her savage incantations. There appear-

ed a disposition to mix the creeds, which could by no means be tolerated. The same magic rites were practised, substituting only the name of Jesus for that of Torngak; and on one occasion a dog was killed, and sick persons sprinkled with the blood, like that of the Paschal Lamb. Seasons of severe sickness, usually favourable to serious thought, were here the times of trial and backsliding; for having invariably looked to the conjuror for a cure, they could scarcely be prevented from having recourse to him. These practices were carefully concealed from the missionaries, who often learned with dismay their continued prevalence among those of whom they had cherished the best hopes. The mild character often ascribed to this race was found by no means uniformly supported, for even murders among themselves were not unfrequent. Tuglavina, the husband of Mikak, was both a conjuror and a ruffian, and on a journey had killed two of his companions, with the supposed view of seizing and selling their wives. Polygamy was usually practised to the utmost extent of the husband's means; and while it was considered as conferring dignity, it yielded a sure profit, as the wives worked hard. Peter, one of their earliest converts, having constructed a large kayak, the brethren were dismayed to learn that he had taken unto himself four wives, two of whom were mother and daughter. On receiving a solemn remonstrance, he admitted and bewailed his sin, yet could not be induced to quit it, because without this number of hands he could not manage his boat. Owing to these causes, as the missionaries were strictly jealous as to admission to ordinances of the gospel, the three settlements in 1789 contained only eighty persons either baptized or candidates for baptism.*

It was not in fact till a new generation arose, not initiated in the savage and reckless habits of their parents, that any general change could be effected. About 1805, thirty-four years after their first settlement, they began

* Moravians in Labrador, pp. 94-98, 151-153, 157, 158, 254.

to reap the fruit of their prayers and tears. From that time there was a progressive improvement. In 1810, the number of individuals baptized, or desirous to receive the sacrament of initiation, was 265. In 1821, there were 471 baptized, and 45 candidates; and in 1824, the whole number of Christian Esquimaux under their charge amounted to 705. An important alteration had been effected, not only in their religious belief, but in their moral as well as physical well-being. Murder and acts of violence against each other had ceased; and the mutual enmities which many of them had indulged were renounced. They were taught to build better boats and more substantial houses, to use more efficacious nets and other implements of fishing, and to practise foresight and economy; by which means they enjoyed plenty while their uninstructed neighbours were starving. They were in general taught to read, and many of them to write. In 1821, copies of the New Testament were supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and, in autumn of the same year, Captain Martin of the Clinker sloop of war, being sent by the Governor of Newfoundland to visit the settlements, spent some days at each, and was quite delighted with the improvement effected on the people. His report facilitated the design which they had for some time cherished, of forming a fourth settlement still farther to the north, in Ungava Bay, at the entrance of Hudson's Strait. This was accomplished in 1828 and 1829, at a place called Kangertluksoak, a name which was changed to Hebron. The country was more level, and even the climate milder than at Okkak, but there being no wood in the vicinity, they were obliged to transport all the materials for building a house from the former place. Appearances were on the whole as promising as could be expected. In 1832, they had a congregation of 162, eighty-two of whom, however, had joined from other settlements.*

* Moravians in Labrador, pp. 186, 203, 207-216, 245, 251, 298, &c., 306-324.

Among the different branches of industry, that of fishing, which in other countries ranks only as a secondary pursuit, possesses in Newfoundland such a superior importance as to claim our first attention. Almost from the earliest discovery of America, this occupation was followed upon a large scale by the maritime nations; but for a long time it was chiefly confined to the great bank, and to vessels sailing from European ports. As soon, however, as permanent settlements began to be formed, it was found that the south-eastern coast, rocky and deeply embayed, afforded a supply almost equally exhaustless, the produce of which could be cured there much more cheaply and conveniently. When, therefore, the coast-fishery was established, the ships employed on the banks found extreme difficulty in making head against it; and though the merchants procured, as we have seen, the most violent orders for the extirpation both of the fisheries and settlements, these proved altogether unavailing. The one branch continually increased, while the other declined, till it does not now employ above eight or ten sloops.* If the French and Americans, to the grief of our colonial patriots, still carry it on to a certain extent, we may conclude that it is entirely owing to the want of the same conveniency on shore.

The first operation of the coast-fisher is to erect what is termed a fish-flake, raised upon posts which support a platform covered with dry fern. It stretches so far into the sea, that boats can readily approach. From the spot thus prepared, the boats, at dawn of day, push out to the best fishing-ground within reach, which, from circumstances not yet fully understood, is sometimes very near, and sometimes changes to a considerable distance. Across each boat is a succession of *bins* like the counters of a shop, separated by flat spaces, on each of which stands a fisherman. He is furnished with two lines, having two hooks fastened to each. These are baited chiefly with capelin, or herrings, and sometimes even with the

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 249.

flesh of birds. When all these fail, a jigger or artificial fish of lead is thrown in, and is often caught at by the voracious animal. The nets are cast, one on each side of the boat; the first filled is drawn up, the fish stunned by blows are thrown into the bin, and the hooks, after being rebaited are returned to the sea. The opposite net, which is then drawn up, is handled in the same manner. This task continues till the boat is filled, often in a very short time. The men then hasten to the flakes, upon which the fish are hastily thrown by a pike stuck in the head, not injuring the body. The crew again return to the fishing-ground, whence, in the course perhaps of an hour or two, they bring in a fresh cargo.

From the top of the flake the fish is carried into the salting-house, where a new class of operations commences. This structure is provided with one or more tables, round which, invested in leathern aprons, are seated three important personages, the cut-throat, the header, and the splitter. The first, with a sharp-pointed double-edged knife, cuts open the fish through its whole length. The header, to whom it is then passed, removes the head and entrails, preserving in many cases the liver and sounds, and dropping the rest into the sea. The splitter, to whom it is next transferred, by two dexterous cuts, removes the back-bone; an operation considered so nice, that he receives the highest wages, and ranks next to the master. These three operations are usually performed upon half a dozen subjects in the course of a single minute. The fish thus prepared is placed in hand-barrows, and conveyed to the salter, whose business is also considered very important. Having spread over each a due portion of salt, he piles them above each other with the backs undermost. When they have thus remained for a few days, the salt is washed off with a soft mop, during which process they are placed in a box with holes underneath for the water to run off. Farther to complete the draining, they are piled in long heaps, bearing the odd name of water-horses.

After the fish have remained a day in this state, they undergo the final process of drying. This is effected by spreading them on flakes with the fleshy side uppermost, and leaving them thus exposed till sunset, turning them once a-day. At night they are piled above each other, with the backs uppermost, in heaps called fagots or flackets, which often accumulate till they resemble hay-stacks. If rain occurs during the day, those lying out are hastily thrown into this shape. Even when well dried, they are left in this form to sweat, as the sailors term it; when, being considered thoroughly cured, they are lodged in warehouses.

The fish is liable to various injuries, either through neglect or unfavourable weather. If the latter be very hot, it becomes flyblown and maggoty, and a few in this state are in some cases found to infect the rest. Too much salt causes the fibres to break, and pieces to separate; it is then called salt-burnt. If sun-burnt, the effect is nearly similar. Damp or wet may occasion putrefaction, or make the mass assume a brownish colour, when it is called dun fish.

Before the cod is exported or delivered for consumption, it undergoes a final drying, and is then, after careful inspection, divided into three sorts: 1. Merchantable, of perfectly good quality, fit for the best markets. 2. Madeira, inferior, yet still good. 3. West India, decidedly inferior, yet capable of standing a sea voyage, and being kept a considerable time. These last are chiefly destined for the aliment of the negroes in the colonies. There remain the dun fish and others discoloured, broken, and otherwise damaged, which nevertheless may be as fit as others for immediate consumption, to which they are therefore applied.*

The bank-fishery is managed upon the same principles, modified by the situation. The vessels, usually large, and from European ports, anchor in the midst of the best fishing-ground. An exterior platform is raised

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 224-232. Chappell, p. 123-130.

along the sides; and the men are protected from the weather by an awning. When a fish is caught, a boy takes it to those who are to cut and split it; after which it is thrown into the hold. When a cargo is completed, it must be taken and dried on shore. This process, however, is often performed too late, and with fewer conveniences, and hence the bank-fish is inferior in appearance, and, to a certain degree, in quality. It is, however, of a larger size, which secures a preference in some markets.*

Views of this important branch of industry have already been given in the historical sketch; to these we now add its amount since 1790 in quintals, which are equivalent to hundredweights.

1790, 1791, 1792, average,	656,800	1830,	760,177
1798, 1799, 1800,	382,881	1832,	619,177
1805,	526,380	1833,	883,536
1815,	1,245,808	1834,	674,988
1820,	899,729	1835,	712,588
1825,	973,464		

Hence it will appear that, after many variations, the produce at the end of this long period has returned to nearly the same amount as at the beginning. The price obtained for it, however, has varied remarkably. In 1814 it was estimated at £2 per quintal; in 1831, 1832, and 1833, at not more than 10s. In 1834 it rose to about 13s.; but in 1835 again fell to 10s.†

The stationary state of the cod-fishery has been in a great measure compensated by the active prosecution of that of the seal. This pursuit is eminently characteristic of the daring hardihood of British colonists. From the regions of ice on the Arctic shores, as already noticed, numerous fields, separated by the first spring thaws, are floated down into the more temperate seas, bringing upon their surface herds of these amphibious animals. To meet their arrival, the fishermen, in vessels of

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p 226. Chappell, p. 122.

+ Bliss, pp. 68, 69. M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 239. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 30; 1833, p. 18; 1834, p. 16.

about 120 tons, set sail early in March, and proceed, amid the gloom of fog and tempest, till they encounter one of these huge floating masses. The mariners seek those level parts, called seal-meadows, where they attack the creatures sleeping usually in large bodies. The piteous cries of these harmless animals, as they fall under successive blows, cause a painful sensation to those whom habit has not steeled against such impressions. When the weather admits, the skin with the blubber beneath are stripped off, and stowed into the vessel, leaving the useless parts; but circumstances often render it necessary to carry off the whole carcass. The fat, when separated from the skin and cut into slices, is put into framework vats, with boughs inside, through which the oil oozes, and in three or four weeks becomes fit for use. The crews return by the end of April, in time to engage in the cod-fishery.

On the coast of Newfoundland, and still more largely on that of Labrador, seals are caught by nets. The most approved mode is to form two adjacent frameworks, one fixed, while the other nearest the shore is moveable, and in the first instance kept beneath the surface. Efforts are made by firing muskets and otherwise to drive the animals into the space between the frames; when this is done, the moveable one is suddenly raised, and completely encloses them.

The following statement, from the time when this branch began to rise into importance, shows its rapid progress, with some variations:—

	Tuns of Oil.	Seal Skins.
1815,	8,225	141,374
1820,	8,224	221,334
1825,	7,806	221,510
1830,	12,371	559,342
1832,	10,010	442,683
1834,	9,030	360,155
1835,	11,780	557,494

It is observable, however, that part of this oil is drawn from the cod; but the two kinds are not distinguished in the returns. Mr M'Gregor estimates in 1814 the

price of seal-oil at £36; of cod-oil at £32. In 1832, they are stated indiscriminately at £23; in 1835, at £28. The seal-skins in 1814 are stated at 5s.; in 1832, at only 1s. 6d.; in 1835, at 2s.*

Salmon, though secondary, form also an object of importance to the fisherman. They are taken by stake-nets at the mouth of the rivers, and after being split and salted, are placed in tubs, large stones being laid on at top to press them down among the pickle. They then receive some additional salt, and are packed into tierces of 200 lbs. each. In Newfoundland, they are chiefly taken in the bays called White, Exploits, Gander, and Bonavista. Labrador is also very productive; and this branch is every where rapidly increasing. In 1832 its value was £6507. In 1834 it had risen to £6781; and in 1835 to £8050. Herrings are of much inferior consequence, yet their export amounted in 1832 to £1255; in 1835 to £1766. Mackerel, always much smaller, has become still more scarce within the last six years. The export in 1835 was only £55.†

Compared to these rich products of the waters, agriculture, elsewhere the main staple of industry, is held here as less worthy of pursuit. The climate is a good deal more severe than in Canada and Nova Scotia, and the soil is fertile only in the alluvial tracts on the rivers, and at the head of the bays, whither settlement has not yet reached. The western coast is described as more favourable; but no advantage can be drawn from it while the British and French unite to prevent each other from settling. Indeed, until good land becomes scarce in America, it cannot be expected that the agriculturist will be attracted by a situation so decidedly inferior. By the census of 1836, it appears that only 25,000 acres are occupied, and of these only 11,000 are under cultivation. With care they may be made to yield

* M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 223, 224, 239, 240. Chappell, p. 197-199. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 30. Bliss, p. 69.

† Chappell, p. 159. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 14; 1834, p. 30.

corn of every description ; but hitherto the oats only are really good. The aggregate produce little exceeds 10,000 bushels : hence the country is almost entirely dependent for bread-corn upon the United States and Europe. Potatoes form the most important object, the soil being excellently adapted for them, while the conveyance from abroad would be attended with very heavy expense. The produce in 1836 was 1,168,000 bushels. The mutton is good ; but sheep and other kinds of live stock are not reared to any extent. They are almost wholly supplied from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island ; while salted meat is brought in large quantities both from the United States and from Ireland.

Nothing in the nature of manufacture exists in Newfoundland, unless we should give that name to the curing of the fish, which is performed on the spot, because it could not be sent to any distance in a fresh state. There is some shipbuilding, but on a small scale.

	Ships.	Tons.
Amount in 1832,	24	2021
1833,	37	3313
1834,	31	1696

Commerce, on the contrary, compared with the population and wealth, is carried on more extensively than in perhaps any other country. Nearly the whole produce is destined for foreign markets, whence in return are imported all the necessaries and luxuries of life. It is chiefly managed by vessels from the south of England, particularly Poole, Exeter, Plymouth, and Dartmouth ; from Jersey and Guernsey ; also from Greenock, whence five houses have large establishments at St John ; likewise, on a smaller scale, from Kirkwall and Lerwick. The vessels from these quarters sometimes bring their cargoes to Liverpool ; but that great port has no houses regularly engaged in the trade. These ships average from 150 to 250 tons, and employ a seaman, whose wages are about 50s. per month, for every fifteen tons. The crews do not engage in the fishery, but in the beginning of the season land the stores and sup-

plies, and having as soon as possible procured a cargo, proceed with it to the foreign market, whence they return for a second, a third, and even a fourth lading.

The following Table, extracted from the Journals of the House of Assembly, and transmitted to us by a friend on the island, shows the exports and imports for the year ended 5th January 1836.

IMPORTS.

Articles.	Quantity imported.	Value.	Duty.	Remarks.
		L. s. d.	L. s. d.	
Wine, viz.:—				
1st Class	420⅞ galls.	218 6 0	31 10 7	Imported from Portugal.
2d do	10,157½ do.	3,034 3 0	507 17 6	
3d do	13,711½ do.	1,736 3 9	514 3 8	
4th do	26,300⅜ do.	1,981 8 10	657 10 1	
Spirits	278,967 do.	17,819 11 5	6,974 3 6	W. Indies, Holland.
Apples	1242 barrels	1,241 10 0	31 1 0	U. States.
Beef and Pork salted	cwt. qrs. lbs. 35,514 2 12	45,389 2 6	1,256 16 0	Ireland and Holland.
Bread or Biscuit	94,211 1 0	42,507 13 0	1,177 13 1	Boston, Hamburg, and Copenhagen.
Butter	12,755 3 2½	31,865 8 4	951 13 4¾	Ireland, Hamburg, N. Scotia.
Cattle (Neat)	2040 head	3,596 15 0	510 0 0	N. Scotia, Prince Edward Isl.
Coals	9973 tons	6,134 18 0	249 6 7	Liverpool, Sydney in N. Scotia
Flour	47,901 barrels	46,764 13 6	1 795 18 3¾	Hamburg and Copenhagen.
Goods, Wares, and Merchandise not otherwise enumerated or described at 2½ per cent.		219,917 18 4	5,497 18 6	Chiefly from Great Britain.
Hogs	19	14 5 0	0 9 6	N. Scotia.
Horses, Mares or Geldings	53	636 0 0	26 10 0	Ditto.
Lumber	2,437,932 feet	5,026 11 7	121 17 10½	Ditto.
Oatmeal	2,056½ barrels	1,577 7 8	51 8 3	Ditto.
Timber (ton) and Balk of all kinds, including Scantling	613,35 tons	612 2 5	15 7 1	Ditto.
Sheep	1876 head	1,129 12 0	46 18 0	Ditto.
Shingles	1120	560 0 0	18 13 4	Ditto.
	Totals,	431,673 10 4	20,436 16 2¾	

EXPORTS.

Description of Articles.	Quantity.	Estimated Value.			Remarks.
		£.	s.	d.	
Dry cod-fish	712,588 quintals* at 10s.	356 294	0	0	The greatest consumpt of cod is in Spain, Portugal, West Indies, and latterly in Brazil.
Core-fish	3931 do. at 5s.	982	15	0	*Core*, half-cured cod.
Salmon	2477 casks at 65s.	8,050	5	0	Salmon is caught in White Bay, Bay of Exploits, Gander Bay, and Bonavista Bay, to the north, and in Labrador.
Herring	3212 do. at 11s.	1,766	11	0	
Mackerel	85 do. at 13s.	55	5	0	Mackerel has grown scarce within the last six years.
Fish tongues, sounds, and capelin	1371 casks & packages at 4s.	274	4	0	
Cod and Seal-oil	11,785 tuns and 156 galls. at £28 per tun.	329,997	6	8	
Whale-oil	29 tuns and 240 galls. at £25 per tun.	748	9	0	
Dogfish-oil	224 galls. at £20 per tun.	17	15	6	
Seal skins	557,494 at 2s. each.	55,749	0	0	
Calf skins	480 at 3s. each.	72	0	0	
Sheep skins	233 at 3s. each.	34	19	0	
Hides	1234 at 10s. each.	617	0	0	
Furs of all kinds	4035 skins, say.	5,000	0	0	Impossible to state accurately.
Castorum	19 lbs. 3 oz. at 20s.	19	3	9	
Berries	8972 galls. at 5d.	186	18	4	
Whale-fins	43 cwt. at £4.	172	0	0	
Knees and stanchions	359 at 3s. each.	53	17	0	
Oars	440 at 1s. each.	22	0	0	
Staves	21,180 at 20s. per 100.	211	16	0	
Boards	3500 feet at 5*0*s. per 1000.	8	15	0	Balance in favour of exports £279 051 : 4 : 11. I am unable to say what countries have afforded the exporting markets.
Wood-hoops	1234 bundles at 1s. 6d. each	92	11	0	
Fire-wood	8 cords and 1600 sticks, say £10 per cord.	82	5	0	
Billets	3700 at £3 per 1000.	11	2	0	
Whale-bone	7¼ cwt. at £4.	298	0	0	
Tallow	3 barrels at 25s.	3	15	0	
	Estimated value of Exports	760,821	13	3	

* The quintal is equal to the hundredweight.

Under the above head of imports, a considerable defect occurs in the sum of £219,917, 18s. 4d., being stated as

"Goods, &c. not otherwise enumerated." We can, however, supply this defect, being enabled to give, from another source, the value of the leading articles for the same period.

Apparel,	£22,167	Iron, Wrought,	£10,846
Beer and Ale,	2,500	Lead,	1,912
Books,	809	Leather,	38,315
Candles,	3,483	Linens,	14,593
Cordage,	15,626	Molasses,	19,375
Cotton Manufactures,	32,608	Painters' Colours,	1,842
Earthenware,	2,466	Salt, British,	5,306
Glass,	3,698	... Foreign,	12,217
Guns and Gunpowder,	1,582	Silks,	5,393
Haberdashery,	12,229	Soap,	5,684
Hardware and Cutlery,	7,160	Stationery,	2,106
Hats,	4,497	Sugar,	8,751
Iron, Bar and Pig,	1,622	Woollens,	55,005*

The following table, also for the year ended 5th January 1836, exhibits the amount of ships and tonnage employed by Newfoundland in the trade to and from all quarters of the world:—

	Inwards.			Outwards.		
	No.	Tons.	Men.	No.	Tons.	Men.
United Kingdom	208	30,510	1753	166	20,055	1193
Gibraltar, British Vessels	2	264	14	3	451	27
.. Foreign Vessels	..	..	..	1	169	9
Guernsey and Jersey	16	2184	134	4	583	38
British West Indies, including Demerara, Berbice, and Bermuda	62	7169	449	71	8835	559
British North America	265	22,741	1146	322	36,170	1795
St Peter's	3	90	11	3	124	12
Foreign Europe, Brit. Vessels	236	32,955	1865	200	25,331	1561
Madeira	2	213	11	2	226	13
United States of America.						
British Vessels	33	3382	177	23	3076	155
Foreign Vessels	6	984	48	3	372	19
Havannah, Foreign Vessels	10	1363	116	..	..	..
Cape Verd Islands, Brit. Vess.	..	..	..	1	57	3
Brazils, British Vessels	..	..	..	24	3391	200
.. Foreign Vessels	..	..	..	1	155	7
Total,	843	101,855	5724	814	98,995	5591

It is proper now to take some farther notice of the privileges as to fishing enjoyed and claimed by the French on the

* Colonial Tables 1835, p. 16.

coast. That these should exist, is a subject of the deepest indignation to the colonial patriots, who have branded successive ministries as wantonly throwing away the most important rights of their country. We shall frankly say, that we would rather see British merchants maintaining their ground by activity and enterprise than by monopoly; and, besides, an attentive historical survey will not by any means bear out those representations. It does not appear, notwithstanding the claims founded on the discovery by Cabot, that, down to the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, any serious opposition was made to other nations fishing, and even forming settlements on the unoccupied coasts. France, which established several important ones, had held them for upwards of half a century; and they had been recognised as hers by the Peace of Ryswick. Before that of Utrecht she had conquered most of ours, and was nearly in possession of the whole island: Britain, therefore, instead of throwing away what she had, made a most important acquisition when, by that negotiation, she obtained the entire territorial dominion of Newfoundland, with the exclusive fishery on its best coasts. She could not, however, grasp every thing; and the cabinet of Paris naturally made a great stand to retain some hold of this important trade, in which their people had been long engaged. They obtained the concurrent right of fishing, without that of settling, on the northern shore between Cape Bonavista on the east and Point Riche on the west.

By the treaty of 1783 the French obtained some important additions. We must, however, remind the colonial writers, that Britain was then by no means in that triumphant attitude which could have enabled her to dictate the terms of peace. She was nearly overwhelmed by a confederacy of all the great maritime powers; her people clamoured for peace, which it became absolutely necessary for ministers to conclude on any tolerable terms. By this treaty France, on ceding her claim upon the part of the eastern coast between Capes Bonavista and St John, obtained its extension to the whole of the western, termi-

nating on the south at Cape Ray. The part thus acquired, it is true, was more extensive than that ceded, but less favourable for fishing, so that there was not on this account any very material change. The court of Louis, however, complaining of outrages and interruptions to their seamen, demanded, within the allotted limits, an exclusive fishery, and the removal of the English settlements. The minister, Mr Fitzherbert, declared that the first could not be admitted as an article of the treaty; but proposed that his government should issue the following declaration, with which M. de Vergennes expressed himself satisfied :—

"To the end, and in order that the fisheries of the two nations may not give cause for *daily quarrels*, his Britannic Majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting in any manner by their *competition*, the fishery of the French during the temporary exercise of it, &c., granted upon the coasts of Newfoundland; and he will for this purpose cause the fixed settlements which shall be formed there to be removed. His Britannic Majesty will give orders that the French fishermen be not incommoded in cutting the wood necessary for the repair of their scaffolds, &c. The thirteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and *the method of carrying on the fishery, which has at all times been acknowledged*, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there: it shall not be deviated from by either party, the French fishermen building only their scaffolds, confining themselves to the repair of their fishing-vessels, and not wintering there; the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, on their part, not molesting in any manner the French fishermen during their fishery, and not injuring their scaffolds during their absence."

This document appears positive as to the removal of fixed settlements on the part of the English; but with regard to their exclusion from the right to fish, there appears some ambiguity. The terms against "interrupting in any manner by their *competition*," certainly point

pretty strongly to this; yet the reference to the Treaty of Utrecht, and to the mode of carrying on the fishery "at all times acknowledged," with a series of regulations supposing both nations to be on the spot together, seems to imply the contrary. It is very singular, that, while Lord Shelburne, in the House of Lords, admitted that an exclusive fishery had been granted, Mr Pitt, in the Commons, absolutely denied it. The former, however, was then the minister of highest rank and standing, and hence in 1786 instructions were sent to the governor to prevent as far as possible British subjects from fishing within the French limits; and as it was found that this could not be fully done consistently with certain acts of Parliament, a new one was passed (28th Geo. *III.* cap. 35), enabling his majesty "to remove, if it should be necessary, all stages and other works erected by British subjects for the purpose of fishing between Cape St John and Cape Ray, and *also all their ships, vessels, and boats* found within those limits." And it was stated that this was done "for enabling his majesty to fulfil the purposes of treaties." There seems, therefore, a great preponderance of proof that, in the understanding of the ministry of that day, the exclusive right had been granted. France peremptorily claims, while the British merchants strenuously deny it. In 1830, the Chamber of Commerce at St John sent Captain Sweetland with a vessel to try the question by actual fishing. He sailed to Croque, and having cast anchor, began his operations. The French officers, however, intimated that, by their instructions, they must, if he persisted, drive him away by force. He then withdrew; and this transaction was made known to the government, without their taking any steps in consequence, to the great indignation of the advocates of the British right. Having given these facts, all from writers hostile to the claim of the foreigners, we shall leave the reader to form his own opinion.

The French part includes a considerable extent of good fishing-ground north of Cape St John, though we cannot think it comparable to the numerous and fine

bays already described, of which the British have the exclusive possession. Some parts of the western coast are altogether destitute of cod, while the others, containing few bays and islands, cannot be very favourable, and are in fact little frequented. Its boasted freedom from fog can therefore be of little value. By a late statement it appears that on an average of five years the produce was 245,000 quintals, of which 160,000 were consumed in France; 17,000 sent to Spain, Portugal, and Italy; the remainder to the several colonies. Thus it appears that the entire amount is little more than a third of the British, while the export is comparatively a mere trifle; and this limited trade too is supported only by enormous bounties, amounting in one year to £60,000. It is valued indeed only as a nursery of seamen.*

The fishery of the Americans may be dated from the peace of 1783, when they were recognised as an independent nation. They obtained then very ample privileges, being allowed to take fish on all the shores of Newfoundland, and also to dry them in the unsettled bays and harbours of Nova Scotia and other coasts held by Great Britain. These concessions, however, being made at the close of a disastrous war, were not prompted by that romantic generosity of which the colonial writers so bitterly accuse the English government. A great stand was made against them, but Mr Adams positively refused to close the treaty upon any other terms. At the peace of 1814 a singular and total silence was observed on the subject; but on an attempt made by the Americans to resume operations, a discussion arose, when it was contended on the part of our ministry, that the war had cancelled the stipulations of 1783, and that they had no longer any rights of fishery. They, however, maintained that those terms formed a permanent arrangement connected with the separation of the States from Britain, and must remain till expressly abrogated.

* Young's British North American Colonies, pp. 14, 15, 19, 24, 25. Bliss, pp. 64, 73-75. Martin, p. 256-266. M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce, 2d edition, pp. 304, 305.

After much reasoning on the point, a convention was concluded in 1818, by which they were allowed both to catch and dry on unoccupied parts in the southern and western coasts of Newfoundland and on that of Labrador, but their vessels were not to approach nearer than three miles to any of the other British settlements. A singular feature in regard to the former colony is, that England on this occasion gave what she herself was supposed to have renounced, and the republicans are said to have carried their point, though Captain Sweetland was told that the French would resist any attempt they might make.

Under these limits the Americans have engaged actively in the fishery, and carried it on to a large extent. The amount of cod taken by them has been estimated at 1,100,000 quintals; but a good deal of this is caught on their own shores, and much the greater part consumed at home. The average export in the three years ending 1833 did not exceed 240,000 quintals, scarcely any of which was sent to Europe. This, added to the French export, amounts to less than 260,000 quintals, while that of the British colonies in 1834 was 958,000 quintals. It would thus appear that the panic occasioned by the rivalry of these powers is in a great measure groundless.*

The only serious obstacle to the progress of the British fishery appears to be the exorbitant and impolitic duties imposed by the powers in the south of Europe, in whose territories the produce is chiefly consumed. Our statesmen ought certainly to use every possible means for remedying this great evil, though of course they cannot compel a change of procedure. The prevalence of sounder views, and the sufferings of the people under this severe enhancement of what is to them a necessary of life, may probably erelong lead to the establishment of a more enlightened system.

The population of Newfoundland has been in a state

* Young, pp. 33-38, 40. Bliss, p. 59. Pitkin's Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America (8vo, New Haven, 1835), pp. 36, 88. Colonial Tables 1834, p. 135.

of continued and even rapid increase. It was forwarded not only by the general progress of the fishery, but more particularly by that on the bank being in a great measure supplanted by the operations near the shore. This method is necessarily adopted by the resident inhabitants, whose number is proportionally augmented. In 1785 it was computed that only 10,244 wintered on the island; in 1806 the estimate was raised to 26,505. Mr Martin furnishes one in 1822-3 amounting to 52,157, and another in 1827-8 which was 60,088. In the colonial tables the sum in 1832 is given at 62,088.* This would imply a very small increase indeed; but on comparing the last two it appears perfectly manifest that they are the result of the same census, for the number in almost every district is identical, and where they differ it is evidently through error. Thus Bonavista is stated at 4671 in 1827-8, at 6671 in 1832, but in 1836 it had only 5183, so that the first is undoubtedly the right statement. There has clearly then been no census since 1827-8 till the one recently taken in 1836, of which we have already from private sources given the detailed results. The amount, it there appears, is 70,957, which does not include the district of Fogo, the return for which had not been received. In 1827-8 it was 3547, and supposing it now 4000, which cannot be far from the truth, the whole will be very nearly 75,000. Of the number in the table 40,085 are males and 30,872 females. There are 28,150 under fourteen, and 1628 above sixty; including 8293 male and 2252 female servants. This is a proportion very unusual in America, but arises naturally in an employment carried on by many wealthy individuals with large capitals.

Of course the great body of the people are fishermen, and those chiefly of Irish extraction. The union of these two characters, though it does not preclude many good qualities, is not likely to produce a very sedate and orderly race. They are industrious, bold, and active; and

* M'Pherson, vol. iv. p. 258. Martin, pp. 296, 297. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 17; 1834, p. 13.

during the long fishing-season they set cold, toil, and tempest at defiance. But when winter has brought an interval of repose with a little money in their pockets, and one of their great saints' days has arrived, they place scarcely any bounds to mirth and jollity. Indulging in copious libations, they sometimes make exhibitions which have injured their character with the sober and steady portion of society. Yet these orgies are said to be only occasional, while in their general deportment they are honest and warm hearted. Great crimes are rare, and petty thefts almost unknown. They are almost all married, have large families, and preserve their strength to a great age; but their mode of living renders inflammatory disorders, when they do occur, violent and dangerous. Their houses are rudely built of wood, with one large fireplace in the middle.*

The higher orders, being either natives of the mother-country, or in constant communication with it, seem to differ less in their habits and manners than in most other colonies. The elements of society in the capital consist of merchants, military gentlemen, and a few civilians in official life; and these classes mix more generally together than is usual in large towns at home. The governor, during the season, gives a series of dinner and evening parties, to which most residents in easy circumstances are invited, and which on this ground form a centre in which they all meet.

The government of Newfoundland since 1832 has been constitutional. The House of Assembly consists of fourteen members, being three for St John, four for Conception Bay, and one for each of the seven other electoral districts. The qualification is of the most popular nature, being for the elector household suffrage, and for the representative the having been two years a householder. The council, appointed by the Crown and as usual possessing a negative, consists at present of the chief-justice acting as president, the

* M'Gregor, vol. i. p. 217-222.

attorney-general, collector of customs, commandant, colonial secretary, with four merchants. The working of the system, as already mentioned (p. 290), has been by no means harmonious. Even, however, from our very imperfect notices it appears evident that the case is exactly as in Lower Canada,—on one side an Assembly representing neither the wealth nor intelligence of the colony, and acting with the violence of a purely democratic body; on the other, a body of opulent merchants and old officials, indignant at their long possession of power being broken in upon, viewing the representatives with mingled hatred and contempt, and studiously excluding them from all honours and offices. The mercantile interest being more wealthy than in other colonies and the labouring class humbler, causes the collision to be the more violent. We see no remedy except that suggested in the other cases, to raise the character of the Assembly by securing some influence to property, and then to give to it that lead in the administration which appears essential to the harmonious working of a representative government.

The revenue is derived almost entirely from duties on imported goods, which appear by the Table on p. 315, to have amounted in 1835 to £20,436, 16s. 2¾d., besides which there is about £1000 from licenses. It was formerly aided by annual grants of about £11,000 from the crown, but the colony is now required to defray the whole of its own civil expenditure. There is no militia, but a corps of about 300 regular troops is always quartered on the island.

Among religious professions the Catholic includes somewhat more than half the population, owing partly to the original foundation by Lord Baltimore, and still more to the constant immigration of Irish labourers. Their number, according to the census of 1836, is 36,899, while the Episcopalians, who are considered the establishment, amount to 2718, and 10,591 are Protestant dissenters. The established church is chiefly aided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in

Foreign Parts, and has at its head an archdeacon. The Presbyterians appear to be few in number. The Methodists are aided by their society at home; while the Catholic priests are maintained by their flocks, and are said to be very attentive to their duties.

There are twelve free schools, of which two are supported by Government and ten by the Newfoundland and British North American School Society. They are taught on Bell's system, and in 1832 there were educated in them 1474 children. There was also an orphan institution at St John on the Lancasterian plan, attended by 385 scholars, of which the expense is defrayed by voluntary subscription. The census of 1836, along with the religious professions, exhibits the state of education at this recent period, from which it is unpleasant to remark that it does not in the more distant settlements bear any due proportion to the number of people.*

There remains in this island, as in every other part of America, a portion of the population which it is impossible to contemplate without the most painful feelings. Europeans, when they began to form their first fishing-establishments, found on the coast a considerable number of natives belonging to a particular tribe called Red Indians. This colour, which they exhibited still more decidedly than the races on the continent, is ascribed by Mr Chappell to a vegetable juice with which their whole body is carefully anointed. The intercourse for some time, as indeed usually happens, was friendly; and they mixed familiarly with the strangers, aiding them in those adventurous pursuits which were congenial to their own habits. Soon, however, quarrels arose; they were accused of stealing the materials of the fishery, and even its produce; wrongs excited to mutual violence, and an inextinguishable enmity followed. The settlers, generally men of fierce tempers, and armed with powerful weapons, carried on the contest in

* Martin, p. 297-304. M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 216, 217. Colonial Tables 1832, p. 28. Information chiefly derived from private sources.

a manner peculiarly ruthless, hunting and shooting the natives like deer. The latter have thus gradually disappeared from the island; and for many years only a few scattered individuals have been found.

The humanity, combined with the curiosity of the present age, has led to repeated efforts to trace out the remnants of this unfortunate people. After several fruitless attempts, Lieutenant Buchan, in 1815-16, came up with a party on the river of Exploits, and prevailed on two of them to accompany him, while the same number of marines were left as hostages; but as he unhappily did not return at the time appointed, the natives, suspecting that a plot was formed to surprise their tribe, killed the two men and hastened to a remote quarter.

An institution called the Bœothic, from a native appellation of this people, has been formed with the view of opening a friendly intercourse with them. To forward the humane intentions of this body, Mr Cormack, who on a former occasion had visited the interior, set out in the year 1827 with a party of Indians, and ascending the river of Exploits, crossed the country to the head of White Bay. About half way thither, at a portage called the Indian Path, he found vestiges of a family who had evidently been there in the spring or summer of the preceding year. They had possessed two canoes, had left a spear-shaft eighteen feet long, with fragments of boats and dresses, and had stripped a number of the birch and spruce trees of their rind, the inner part of which they use for food. Farther on he came to the remains of a village, consisting of eight or ten wigwams, each capable of containing from six to twenty persons. There were pits to preserve the stores, and the relics of a vapour-bath. From White Bay he proceeded south-west to the Red Indian Lake, a spacious and beautiful sheet of water. On its banks, understood to have been a favourite haunt of the natives, several clusters of their huts were found, but all had been long deserted. There was a canoe twenty-two feet long which appeared to have

sunk and been driven on shore. Wooden repositories for the dead were framed with great care, the bodies wrapt in skins, and accompanied by a variety of small images, models of canoes, arms, and culinary utensils. The party descended the river of Exploits, continuing to find similar traces of habitations, but all long abandoned. There were fences to entrap deer extending in a continuous line at least thirty miles, which it must have required 500 men to keep in repair; but all is now relinquished, and going to ruin.

No Esquimaux are settled in Newfoundland, though they have extended themselves along all the coast of Labrador, and are in fact the very same race who have been so minutely described by Parry, Ross, and other northern voyagers. The interior is occupied by an entirely distinct body,—the Hunting Indians. They roam constantly over the country by the aid of snow-shoes in winter, while in summer portable canoes of birch-bark enable them to cross the numerous streams. Their sole study is the destruction of birds and beasts, whose cries they imitate with surprising skill. They bring them down sometimes by means of their old weapon the arrow, but they prefer fowling-pieces, where these can be procured. They supply the Europeans on the coast with furs and venison, receiving in return, arms, woollen cloth, and spirits. They exhibit a considerable mixture of French blood, and have been converted by that people to a form of the Catholic religion, which consists, however, chiefly in counting beads and worshipping images. A most bitter enmity reigns between them and the Esquimaux, though it does not proceed in general to measures of downright violence.*

* Chappell, pp. 169-172, 183, 103-105. M'Gregor, vol. i. pp. 257, 262-274. Cartwright's Journal, vol. iii. p. 229-231.

CHAPTER XIII.

Bermudas.

Situation—Climate—First Discovery—Shipwreck and Deliverance of May—Of Gates and Summers—First Settlement—Company formed—Its Constitution—Administrations of Moore, Tucker, and Butler—Improved State—Queries by the Royal Society—Subsequent Neglect—Becomes important as a Naval Station—Agriculture, Fishing, and Commerce—Naval and Military Establishments—Population and State of Society—Local Divisions.

The Bermudas form a small insular group situated in the Atlantic Ocean, but still considerably nearer to the New than to the Old World. With the exception of St Helena, there is not perhaps a spot on the globe so remote from any other land; the nearest points being Cape Hatteras in North Carolina, distant 580, and Atwood's Keys, one of the Bahamas, 645 miles. Their number has been estimated at 400 and upwards; but almost all of them are mere rocks, except five,—St George, St David, Long Island or Bermuda Proper, Somerset, and Ireland. The third is by far the largest, more than equalling all the rest put together, and is hence often called the Continent; but St George, being the most frequented and accessible, is the seat of government. Separated only by narrow channels, the five now specified were regarded by the first discoverers as a single island, and are still generally known by the simple designation of Bermuda. They extend from north-east to south-west in a curved line, bending inwards at both extremities so as on each side to enclose sounds or gulfs, one of

which forms the spacious harbour of St George. The whole length of the group, following its sinuosities, is about twenty miles, while its breadth nowhere exceeds three, and in most places not one. The surface is not estimated to contain above twenty square miles, or about 12,500 acres.

Placed on a rocky shoal twenty-three miles long by thirteen broad, raised above the deep surrounding waters of the Atlantic, the Bermudas bear every appearance of a coral formation. The rocks consist of that material, along with shells, united by a calcareous cement. They have apparently been accumulated along the coast by the action of wind and surge, yet are nowhere higher than 180 feet. Reefs extending on all sides, and reaching in some places to the distance of ten miles, render the approaches very dangerous, and have caused frequent shipwrecks. They enclose, however, good harbours, which form a naval station, at once extremely convenient and quite secure from attack.

The climate of Bermuda has been celebrated as peculiarly agreeable and salubrious. Its position at the limit of the torrid zone, and encompassed by sea, protects it at once from the rigours of a northern winter and the scorching heat of the tropical regions. It accordingly enjoys a perpetual spring, interrupted only by violent storms and hurricanes incident to its situation, and rendering the neighbouring seas exceedingly dangerous. Of the soil very opposite accounts are given; some early writers representing it as luxuriant, while Bryan Edwards, on the information of Governor Brown, describes it as very poor.* This last statement is surely exaggerated, since the fruits and vegetables are allowed to be of superior quality, while the fields are covered with perpetual verdure. A defective cultivation seems sufficiently to account for the produce being small even in proportion to the limited extent, which alone precludes its coming

* History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies (2 vols 4to, London, 1794), vol. i. p. 470.

in this respect into any comparison with the greater colonies. The interest, however, which this cluster excited at an early period, and some striking events of which it was the theatre, give it a considerable place in colonial history, while its present importance is derived from the circumstance, that it has become a principal station for the British navy in the American seas.

This group was first discovered in 1515 by a Spanish vessel named La Garza, commanded by Juan Bermudez, and having on board Gonzalo Oviedo, the historian of the Indies. Having approached within reach of cannon-shot, they regarded it as a single island about twelve leagues in length and thirty in circumference. From appearances it was concluded to be uninhabited; but a resolution was formed to send boats on shore to make observations and leave a few hogs, which might breed and be useful afterwards. When, however, they were preparing to debark, a strong contrary gale arose, which obliged them to steer off, and be content with the view already obtained. The swarms of birds and of flying-fish, with the contests waged between them, furnished to Oviedo one of the most amusing spectacles he had ever beheld. He calls it the remotest island in the whole world, meaning, we suppose, the most distant from any land. It was named by the Spaniards indifferently Bermuda from the captain, or La Garza from the ship; but the latter term is long since disused. It was soon found that, in returning from the West Indies, mariners must avoid the trade-winds, as directly opposed to them. Hence they steered northwards till they reached the latitude of the Bermudas, where these winds ceased, and whence they took an easterly course, which often brought them in view of these islands.* The Spaniards do not appear, however, to have ever formed settlements there; and indeed the stormy seas and dangerous rocks which surround them, gave rise to so many disasters as to render the group exceedingly for-

* Oviedo in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 60-71.

midable in the eyes of the most experienced navigators. It was even invested in their imagination with superstitious terrors, being considered as unapproachable by man, and given up in full dominion to the spirits of darkness.*

These islands, in fact, were first introduced to the notice of the English by a dreadful shipwreck. In 1591 Henry May sailed to the East Indies along with Captain Lancaster; and having reached the coasts of Sumatra and Malacca, they scoured the adjacent seas, and made some valuable captures. In 1593 they again doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned by the West Indies, with a view to obtain refreshments, which they much needed. They came first in sight of Trinidad, but durst not approach a coast which was in possession of the Spaniards; and their distress became so extreme that Lancaster found the utmost difficulty in preventing his men from leaving the ship. He therefore steered for Porto Rico, but, when pursuing his voyage, he discovered a small island named Mona, where, finding a partial supply, they remained fifteen days. They were joined there by a French armed ship from Caen, the commander of which, La Barbotière, kindly relieved their wants by a gift of bread and other provisions. They then shaped their course for Cape Tiburon in Hayti, and on their way fell in once more with the French captain. Their stores being again nearly exhausted, a fresh application was made to him, but he declared his own stock to be so much reduced that he could afford very little, yet if they would accompany him to Port Gonave they should be amply supplied. They did so; but the sailors, who were suffering severely, persuaded themselves that the Frenchman's scarcity was feigned, and also that May, who conducted the negotiation, was regaling himself with good cheer on board without any trouble about their distresses. Among these men, inured to bold and desperate deeds, a conspiracy was soon formed to seize the French pinnace, and with its aid to attack, and if pos-

* Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1169, 1737.

sible capture, the large vessel. They succeeded in the first object, but, immediately after this, one of their number betrayed the secret to Barbotière. Without seeming to know any thing, he invited Lancaster and May to dine with him on board, and, having cheerfully entertained them, asked them to stay supper. Previous to that meal he was some time absent, and, on coming in, stated that, from the footing on which the two vessels were, it appeared necessary that they should separate. Lancaster, who had probably witnessed the provocation given by the violence of his crew, declared that he had no wish to detain him; but both he and May were not a little surprised when they found the ship in motion, and sailing off full speed. Barbotière, when asked the cause of this movement, mentioned the conspiracy which he had discovered, adding that he kept them as hostages against the outrageous conduct of their men. This motion was soon observed by the crew, who, instead of discomposing themselves at the loss of their officers, immediately took possession of the provisions which had been reserved for them, weighed anchor, and stood for England. They were overtaken, however, and after some farther transactions an accommodation was effected. Lancaster returned to his ship; but Barbotière, at his request, undertook to take May home with him, that he might inform his owners of the events of the voyage, and the unruly behaviour of the crew.

On the 29th November the French captain sailed from Laguna, taking the usual course by Bermuda. Strict watch appears to have been kept while they supposed themselves to be near that dreaded spot; but about noon on the 7th December, the pilots declared that they were twelve leagues southward of it, and past all its dangers. They called, therefore, for the allowance of wine to which it seems they were then entitled, and, on its being furnished, threw aside all care, and gave themselves up to talking and carousing. Amid this jollity, about midnight the ship struck with such violence as to make it evident that she must speedily

sink. In this dreadful situation they hoped that, as the rock was high, it formed part of the land, which they might soon reach, while, in fact, it belonged to the exterior reef, and they soon saw reason to conclude that they were seven leagues from any shore. They could only put out a small boat, to which they attached a hastily constructed raft, to be towed along with it. Room, however, was thus made for only twenty-six, while the crew exceeded fifty. In the wild and dreadful struggle that ensued, and while the ship was fast filling, May looked on in despair, thinking it vain for him, the only Englishman, to attempt entering either conveyance, as he would instantly be pushed overboard. Barbotière, at this crisis, seeing him from the boat, called to him to leap in, for "it stood upon life or death." He lost no time in complying; and thus, says he, "it pleased God to make me one of them that were saved, I hope to his service and glory."

They had still to beat about nearly the whole of next day, dragging the raft after them, and it was almost dark before they reached the shore. They were tormented with thirst, and for some time were in despair of finding even a drop of liquid; but at last a pilot, digging among a heap of plants, discovered a tank, which, though only filled with rain-water, relieved their distress. They never had any better during their stay, though persuaded that a leisurely search among the numerous fine bays would have afforded it. The land was covered with one unbroken forest, chiefly of cedar, so that no vegetable food could be obtained. There were a few hogs, but so lean as not to be eatable; but as the air and water abounded with fowl, fish, and turtle, they found themselves completely secured against the danger of starvation. Without some exertion, however, the island must become their abode for life; and to avert this, it was necessary that a bark should be constructed sufficient to convey them to some European settlement. They had happily saved the carpenter's tools, with which they began to cut down the cedars. Having

made a voyage to the sunken ship, they found the shrouds still above water, cut them off, and had thus the requisite tackling. For pitch they took lime rendered adhesive by a mixture of turtle oil, and forced it into the seams, when, the weather being extremely hot, it dried instantly, and became as hard as stone. Thus by the month of April they had constructed a vessel of eighteen tons; and, dreading lest the increasing heat should absorb their water, they resolved to set sail.

During a residence of five months, May had occasion to observe, that Bermuda, hitherto supposed a single island, was really broken into a number, of different sizes, enclosing many fine bays, and forming good harbours. They were found subject to rain and thunder-storms, though the weather in spring was very fine. He considers the soil as barren; but he probably adopted that opinion from seeing nothing growing except timber; and under these circumstances, there could not be any attempt to clear and cultivate.

The bark being finished, they placed on deck at each side of the mast a large chest containing a stock of water and thirteen live turtle. On the 11th May, they saw themselves with joy clear of the islands, and bent their course towards Newfoundland. They had a very favourable voyage, and on the 20th entered a river on Cape Breton, where they took in wood, water, and ballast. The country appeared to them good, and the natives, in a very friendly manner, offered furs and wild ducks, some of which last were procured in exchange for beads. They afterwards steered for the larger island whither they had directed their course; but, upon applying to be received on board several ships bound for Europe, they were refused by all except one belonging to Falmouth, where they obtained a temporary accommodation. They soon found a French vessel, into which the mariners of that nation were received. May then took leave of Barbotière, whom he justly calls his dear friend, and obtained a passage in the ship to England, where he arrived in August 1594.

It was owing to a tempest that Bermuda again came under the view of our countrymen. In 1609, during the most active period of the colonization of Virginia, an expedition of nine ships and 500 men was sent out, commanded by Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers; the former to act as deputy-governor under Lord Delaware. They had a favourable course to the Gulf of Bahama, where they were involved in a most frightful tempest, which Archer calls "the tail of the West Indian horacano." They were completely separated, each vessel choosing its own course, and the greater number singly arriving at their destination. But the principal one, in which were Gates, Summers, and Captain Newport, was impelled in a different direction, and seems to have been involved in the thickest of the tempest. Strachy declares, that he had witnessed storms on the most dangerous shores of Europe and Africa, but never any that could be compared with this. When it seemed to have reached its utmost possible violence, still "was fury added to fury, and one storme urging a second more outragious. Our clamours were drowned in the windes, and the windes in thunder,—the sea swelled above the clouds, and gave battell unto heaven." The sky poured down not rain, but rivers, yet without assuaging the tumultuous fury of the blast; and still all this seemed nothing compared to the discovery that water had accumulated in the hold to the depth of five feet, covering the ballast and two tier of casks above. Every corner was eagerly searched for the leak; and 10,000 lbs. weight of biscuit was turned over in the bread-room; but though they found a number of small holes, which were hastily stopped up with pieces of beef, the great one, by which their destruction rushed in, never could be traced. All hands were now called to the pump, to labour for life; and though there seemed no hope of ultimate success, yet "so deare are a few lingering hours of life in all mankinde," that they zealously turned out. Three parties were formed, each divided into two sets, who relieved one another every hour. The governor and admiral took their turns;

and gentlemen, who had never had an hour's hard work in their lives, now, "their minds helping their bodies, toiled with the best." Amid the utter darkness, a light like a small star flickering among the masts and shrouds, inspired superstitious terrors; though it is an electrical phenomenon usual in such circumstances. Thus they laboured three days and nights, in which they pumped 2000 tons of water, when being quite exhausted, and the sea always gaining upon them, they determined to shut the hatches, and commit themselves to its mercy. Some who had cordial waters filled their glasses, to drink to each other "a last leave, before meeting in a more blessed world." At this instant Summers, who had been watching at the poop day and night, cried out, "Land!" The others ran to the spot, and, as the morning was already dawning, had the gratification to see the very trees on shore moving in the gale. Then, it is said, "every one bustled up;" exertions were redoubled, and lighting providentially on the only secure entrance, they reached to within less than a mile of the shore. Here the vessel, being happily wedged between two rocks, was preserved from sinking, till by means of a boat and skiff, the whole crew of 150, with a great part of the provisions and all the tackling, were landed.*

The people being thus established upon the island, found means of making themselves tolerably comfortable. There were hogs in great numbers, of which it seems uncertain whether they were indigenous or introduced by some Spanish vessel. They were not by him so fastidiously rejected as by May; for in the season when berries abounded, they were easily kept in good condition, though, it is admitted that, when these failed, they became poor, and could not easily be "raised to be better." At that season, however, turtles came in their stead, and were indeed the chief resource of all the early crews. This animal is minutely described, and

* Jourdan (Sil.), A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Islands of D—ls (4to, London, 1610). Strachy in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1734-1737. Archer, ibid. 1733.

stated to afford a supply equal to three hogs. The meat is reported as neither fish nor flesh, but somewhat resembling veal, or the marrow of beef. Strachy merely says, in a contented tone, that the company "liked it very well;" but Norwood justly celebrates it as excellent. The animals were easily caught when they came to land, and fell asleep on their backs, from which posture they could not easily move. When at sea, they were attacked in the night by boats with a light on board. It was only necessary to have a long staff with an iron point about the size of a finger, which, being thrust into the upper shell, stuck so fast, that the animal could not escape, and after some vain struggles was captured. The other fishes, both shell and sea-water, were plentiful, of various kinds, and affording delicate food. The only deficiency, and on this Strachy congratulates himself, was in eels, lampreys, and other "feculent and dangerous snakes," bred in marshes, ditches, and muddy pools, with which, says he, "I pray God never may any river bee envenomed where I come." Birds were equally plentiful and various, many of peculiar species. The most remarkable was one called the cohow, about the size of a plover, which came forth only in the darkest nights of November and December, hovering over the shore, "making a strange, hollow, and harsh howling." The most approved mode of taking them was by standing on rocks by the seaside, hallooing, laughing, and making the strangest possible outcry. The birds were thereby attracted, and settled upon the very arms and head of the hunter.* Gates, having caused the long-boat to be enlarged and fitted up, sent Ravens the mate, with it, to convey his orders to Virginia, and bring a vessel for their conveyance. Strict watch was ordered to be kept, and fires lighted on all the heights; but though these directions were strictly observed, and many a wishful look cast for the space of two months, nothing was ever descried besides air and ocean. All hopes were then given up, and there was afterwards too much reason to suppose, that the

* Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1738-1741, 1798-1801, 1823.

party had fallen into the hands of the savages, and been entirely cut off. The chiefs, therefore, determined to set about preparing a new pinnace, with such materials as the island afforded. These were only cedar-wood, with a barrel of pitch, one of tar, and some cables saved from the wreck. There was a good ship-carpenter from Gravesend; but great difficulty was found in commanding the services of the crew, among whom the late catastrophe had much relaxed the bonds of discipline. To induce them to persevere, Gates and Summers not only kept regular watch, but set the example of labouring with their own hands. While the larger bark was prepared under the direction of the first of these officers, the latter, with a party of twenty, undertook to construct one on a separate island.

Their utmost exertion did not prevent disturbances which nearly baffled the enterprise. These were fomented by individuals noted for their religious zeal, though suspected of puritan principles, and the accompanying spirit of independence. They represented that the recent disaster had dissolved the authority of the governor; and their business was now to provide as they best could for themselves and families. They had come out in search of an easy and plentiful subsistence, which could nowhere be found in greater perfection and security than here, while in Virginia its attainment was not only doubtful, but attended with many hardships. These arguments wrought so powerfully on the great body of the men, that, had it rested with them, they would have lived and died on this remote shore. Two successive conspiracies were formed by large parties to separate from the rest and form a colony. Both, however, were defeated by the vigilance of Gates, who, on professions of penitence, allowed the authors to escape with a comparatively slight punishment.

This lenity only emboldened the malecontents. A third plot was formed to have recourse to arms, seize the stores, and take entire possession of the island. The governor, though he obtained not the full clue to it, had intimation

sufficient to induce precautions which frustrated the execution. One Payne, however, showed such insubordination, and broke into such violent and contumelious expressions, that it was determined to make him an example. He was condemned to be hanged, a sentence only commuted, on his plea of being a gentleman, into that of being shot, which was immediately executed. His comrades alarmed fled into the woods, where they endeavoured to obtain permission to remain; but this was positively refused by Gates, and Summers had the address to persuade them all to return, except two, of whom one had been guilty of murder.

About this time, being the end of March, more than eight months after their shipwreck, the pinnace was completed; proving forty feet long, nineteen broad, and measuring about eighty tons. Sir George had made the other vessel only twenty-nine feet long; but the two together were sufficient for the conveyance of the whole party to Virginia. During their stay they buried five men, had two births, and one marriage. It was not till the 10th May that they were fully equipped, and got a fair wind. Before reaching the open sea, they struck upon a rock, which had nearly frustrated all their labours; but, being very soft, it yielded and was carried before the ship. On the 17th, they saw "a change in the water, and rubbish swimming," which indicated an approach to land. On the 20th, at midnight, a delicious smell was experienced like that usual on the shore of Spain; and an hour after daybreak, the coast was descried. It was not far from Cape Henry, at the entrance of the Chesapeak; and on the 23d they anchored in front of James Town. Affairs there were found not so comfortable as could have been desired; but this does not belong to our present subject.*

Although the chiefs had so decidedly opposed any irregular or unauthorized residence, their impressions were so favourable, that immediately on their arrival in Vir-

* Strachy in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1741-1749.

ginia they determined to form a settlement on these islands. The task was undertaken by Summers, whose name was then given to them, though the original one of Bermuda has since prevailed. He sailed on the 19th June 1610, accompanied in another vessel by Captain Argall, afterwards governor of Virginia. Contrary winds carried them northwards to the vicinity of Cape Cod, when they were involved in such dense fogs, that the two vessels were separated, and Argall then returned to his station. The other persevered, reached the islands, and landed his party; but, as he died soon after, the colonists, thus left to themselves, were seized with a desire of home, and all, except three, accomplished their purpose.*

Although the train of events had thus been somewhat untoward, an extraordinary interest was excited in favour of this new discovery. The usual exaggerations were published, and their impression heightened by contrast with the dark ideas formerly prevalent. Jourdan proclaims, that "this prodigious and enchanted place, which had been shunned as a Scylla and Charybdis, and where no one had ever landed but against his will, was really the richest, healthfulest, and most pleasing land ever man set foot on."† Strachy was less enthusiastic, but he considered the colony, on the whole, as very desirable.‡ Some large pieces of ambergris had been found, and the remarkable size of the spiders was imagined, we know not why, to indicate gold. Upon these encouragements, about 120 gentlemen detached themselves from the Virginia Company to form one bearing the name of the Summer Islands. According to the constitution of this association, the land was to be divided into 400 shares of twenty-five acres each, to be held by private proprietors, while the surplus was to remain public, and at the Company's disposal. The profits of cultivation were to be equally shared between the owners and occupiers. The latter were made little better than serfs, not being allowed to leave the ground without their master's consent, and if, instead of fully improving it,

* Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1758-1764, 1796. † Ib. pp. 8, 9. ‡ Ib. p. 1739.

they preferred any other occupation, they were to pay him half their earnings. Out of the public lands, two acres, at 2s. rent, were allowed to every handicraft settler. Severe laws were enacted against "idle and vain persons, drunkards, and those who spent their time in carding and dicing," while those who "in bravery of apparel exceeded their means" were ordained to pay double to the public burdens. There was to be an Assembly every two years, without whose consent no taxes could be imposed; arrangements, however, which were not completed till after a considerable lapse of time.*

On the 28th April 1612, the first ship was sent out with sixty emigrants, under the charge of Richard Moore, described as an ingenious and careful man, but somewhat obstinate and pragmatical. They had a favourable and direct run, so that on the morning of the 11th July they came in view of their "hoped and desired islands;" and in the afternoon of the same day the whole party were landed near that of St George. They looked in vain for the three residents; but, nevertheless, animated by proper feelings, they joined in a prayer, expressing gratitude for their safe arrival. While thus engaged, they saw the three rowing towards them. A joyful welcome was exchanged; the whole joined in a psalm of thanksgiving, and then went to supper. The men had cleared a spot of ground, and planted it with corn, tobacco, and melons. On the first working day, the settlers found themselves surrounded by such "a company of fish," that they might have loaded two boats; and they took, with their hands only, as many fowls as they could desire.

Moore applied himself very actively to the arrangements for the settlement. He laid the foundation of eight or nine forts, and caused two churches to be built, one of cedar, the other of palmetto. These undertakings, however, keeping the people hard at work, and preventing exertions for their private benefit, excited

* Norwood in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1796. Orders and Constitutions by the Governor and Company for the Plantation of the Summer Islands. (4to, London, 1622), pp. 35-43, 49, 50, 73-75.

much discontent. Even the clergyman, Mr Keith, a Scotsman, charged him in the pulpit with grinding the faces of the poor, and compared his exactions to those of Pharaoh ; but being censured by a meeting of the colonists, he asked pardon on his knees, and was forgiven. Two other malecontents were condemned to death, but not executed. Intelligence, received at the end of the year, of an intended attack by the Spaniards, made them redouble their exertions. Two vessels of that nation really made an attempt to enter, but on the mere discharge of two shots from the fort, they made off; a most fortunate circumstance, since the English ammunition was almost exhausted. Before the end of next year, three vessels had arrived with 130 settlers; and one of them brought ashore two potatoes, which multiplied to admiration, and became one of the most valuable staples. In the course of the next two years, three ships came with 440 settlers.

The progress of improvement, however, was much obstructed by various causes. In particular, one vessel, along with a cargo of flour, is said to have brought some rats, which multiplied so rapidly, mounting trees and swimming from island to island, that they soon filled the whole group, destroying every crop which was attempted to be raised. We cannot help doubting this vast increase, and suspect that they must have been a native species, not observed till the attempts at culture made their ravages visible. After about four years they disappeared, owing, as Norwood insists, to a special miracle ; but the occasion seems scarcely to have required such an interposition, and the incessant pursuit with cats, dogs, and snares of every description, seems sufficiently to account for the happy result. This cause, however, added to the constant employment in the erection of public works, prevented entirely the raising of agricultural produce. For two years, the colonists, it is said, never tasted bread, and had ceased to consider it a necessary of life. Want and hard labour gave rise to an epidemic, originating almost entirely in weakness, under which many

sunk. Moore at the same time displeased the Company, by opposing their projected division of the lands, in which he insisted that neither his own interest nor that of the colonists was duly consulted. Even Berkeley, whom they sent out for this purpose, met so cold a reception, that he returned without effecting any thing. Sensible of the displeasure of his employers, Moore sailed for England, leaving the government vested in a council of six.

The Company, in 1616, sent out Daniel Tucker to assume the direction of their affairs, and with strict injunctions to carry their plans into execution. The discontents, however, had already ripened into aspirations after independence; so that it was not without resistance and difficulty that he got his authority acknowledged. Norwood was then employed to divide the island according to the constitutions, which were strictly enforced. They were, as already observed, in some respects severe, converting the cultivators into prisoners on the island, and in some measure into slaves. Hard labour being also still required on the public works, heavy complaints were raised, and some desperate efforts made to escape from the colony. In particular, a party of five, pretending great regard for the governor, offered to build for him a decked boat of three tons. He cheerfully accepted the proposal; but before the day which he had named for inspecting it, they had all left the island. They directed their course homeward, when they met with a worse enemy than the winds and waves, in a French picaroon, which plundered them of some valuable articles. They pushed on, though reduced to great distress for want of provisions, and even obliged to hew away half the knees of the vessel for firewood. At length they reached the coast of Ireland, where they were received and entertained by the Earl of Thomond, who caused the boat to be hung up in memory of this remarkable voyage. Another party of three, one of them a lady, attempted in the same manner to reach Virginia, but were never more heard of. Six others were discovered before they effected their departure, and one was executed. Tucker

made great exertions with the view of introducing from the West Indies sugar-canes, plantains, fruits, and other valuable productions; and the country, amid all its murmurs, made a sensible progress. The complaints of his severity, however, were so great, that in December 1618 he went home to justify himself, leaving the government with Captain Kendall.

The Company did not choose to send him back, but nominated in his place Captain Butler, who sailed in July 1619, and arrived in October with four ships and 500 men, who doubled the number already in the colony. Considerable reinforcements were also sent in the two following years.* He introduced a more liberal system, conformable to the spirit which then reigned at home. In August 1620 the first General Assembly was called, and the laws and government were assimilated to the English form. As the ministers were imbued with Puritan principles, and several scrupled to use the forms of the Anglican Church, a liturgy was adopted in which the points objected to were omitted. A very tyrannical order, however, was issued, prohibiting the admission of any vessels except those sent by the Company. This caused great "murmuring and exclaiming" among the colonists, who thus lost the benefit derived from many ships which touched there for wood and water.

On the whole, however, the system of government was decidedly improved; and the first obstacles having been overcome, the colony had arrived at a situation which might be considered prosperous. Butler, in 1622, left 1500 people, nearly a hundred boats, and ten forts strengthened with fifty-two pieces of ordnance. Norwood considers the condition of the inhabitants decidedly comfortable, since they enjoyed food in abundance, with all things needful for the body, and likewise commodities for export,—the whole without any extreme labour or

* According to one account there were 900 sent in 1619, 1620, and 1621 (Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1787); but by another there went in 1621 alone 500 (Ibid. p. 1783), which, added to Butler's 500, would make 1000 in two years.

toil. Maize was the staple grain, besides which there had been introduced sugar-canes, vines, indigo, potatoes, with other fruits and vegetables, which had rendered it "like some spacious garden or nursery of many pleasant and profitable things." We find in fact a notice, that in 1623 various of these plants were sent from the Summer Islands into Virginia. All the domestic animals brought from Europe became, he says, better and fatter,—hens and turkeys multiplied both at home and in a wild state. In short, considering the beautiful climate and mild government, he believes the country to exhibit "a restoration of the golden age so much spoken of."*

The islands then excited an interest not only in the view of commerce, but of science. The Royal Society, newly instituted, transmitted a set of queries, asking particular information respecting a kind of bark said to form a roof superior to stone, being warmer in winter and cooler in summer; also spiders which spread their nets from tree to tree so as to snare large birds. Richard Stafford answers, that the roofing material is not bark but leaves, being those of the palmetto, which are often eight or ten feet long, and he considers the tree superior to any other for the variety of its uses. He mainly confirms the statement in regard to the spiders, who, he says, weave their web from one tree into the air, when the wind fastens it to another, and a bird as large as a thrush will be thus caught. The capture of whales was also an object of inquiry, and, according to two separate accounts, those on the coast appear to be smaller, and to contain much less oil, than those of Greenland; they add, that the people did not venture to attack them unless in shallow water, dreading lest when struck they should fly off and sink the boat. There were also spermaceti whales, which would have been worth several hundred pounds each, but they swam with so much swiftness and force that not one had been captured.†

* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1777-1805.

† Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. i. p. 421; ii. pp. 566, 567; iii. pp. 794, 795.

These islands continued to enjoy a high reputation, and, during the succeeding period of civil commotion, shared with Virginia the resort of distinguished emigrants. They obtained additional lustre when Waller, the most popular poet of his age, chose them for the theme of his "Battel of the Summer Islands." He celebrates them in the most flattering strains, saying,—

—"The kind spring, which but salutes us here
Inhabits there, and courts them all the year:
Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same trees live
At once they promise, what at once they give.
So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
None sickly lives, or dies before his time.
Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst
To show how all things were created first.
* * * *
Oh! how I long my careless limbs to lay
Under the plantain's shade, and all the day
With amorous airs my fancy entertain,
Invoke the Muses, and improve my vein.
No passion there in my free breast should move,
None but the sweet, and best of passions—love."

All the narratives represent Waller as having spent some time on the islands. But this, we may observe, is not at all intimated in the poem; and his mention of "listening *savages*" implies an error which could not well have been committed by one that ever resided there. The population is said to have now reached 10,000, but this numeration stands on no positive evidence.

Bermuda from this period fell into comparative neglect. Her limited extent and resources made it impossible to sustain a competition with the continental colonies when they had expanded into their vast dimensions. We have not been able to trace the time when negro slaves were first imported, but about the beginning of the last century their number appears to have been considerable, and to have excited some alarm. A severe act "to prevent their insolency" was passed in 1704, but repealed in 1705; still freed negroes were not permitted to remain above six months on the islands.* Happily

* Acts of Assembly of Bermuda or the Summer Islands (folio, Lond. 1719), pp. 68, 94.

since that time it appears that the slaves have been treated with particular mildness, and have become much attached to their masters. A number employed in the naval service, and made prisoners during the American war, eagerly embraced the first opportunity of returning.* A very exclusive spirit appears to have prevailed in regard to the Jews, who were not allowed to trade without a previous payment of £5. Great dissensions and expensive lawsuits were caused by the unsettled titles to landed property, which the law endeavoured to remedy by excluding all claims raised against any one after a quiet possession of twenty years.†

Being incapable of yielding any amount of produce that could compare with that of the other colonies, Bermuda would have sunk into total obscurity but for certain natural advantages. The great strength of its position, standing solitary amid so vast an extent of ocean, and on the return-route from the West Indies, marked it as a principal naval station. Under this view, indeed, it was little considered while the whole coast of North America was ours; but after the United States became first hostile and then foreign, its possession proved extremely convenient to us, while its occupation by another power would have been much the contrary. Washington, towards the end of the American war, had formed a plan to seize it with the view of annoying our West India trade. The English government therefore carefully fortified the several islands, where they kept a naval and military force constantly stationed. During the late contest it became the principal winter-station of our navy in those seas, possessing for this purpose many advantages over the ports of the northern colonies.‡ The benefit then experienced led to a determination to form on Ireland Island a breakwater and other works which might convert it into a haven of the first importance. This was begun in 1824 and completed in 1837, being carried on by the labour of about a thousand deported convicts.

* Edwards' West Indies, vol. i. p. 471. † Acts, pp. 26, 71.
‡ Alcedo, Geog. Dict. America, by Thompson, art. Bermuda.

These new employments seem to have almost entirely diverted the colonists even from the limited attention once bestowed upon agriculture. The first staple, as in Virginia, was tobacco, which appears to have been prosperous, since Waller, in allusion to it, says,—

"The blest tenant feeds
On precious fruits, and pays his rent in weeds."

Even in the beginning of last century it was still considered of great importance, and the Assembly endeavoured to encourage it by the vain expedient of fixing 3d. per pound as the minimum price.* In 1785 attempts were made to introduce cotton, and, though the success was never great, Edwards reckons that when he wrote there were still 200 acres devoted to the growth of this commodity;† but at present neither of it nor of tobacco does there appear to be a single plant reared. The same may be said of maize, stated originally as the staple grain. Of 12,400 acres, of which the islands consist, only 587 were in 1833 under cultivation; and of these 273 were in potatoes, yielding 46,959 bushels; 103, garden vegetables, 206,520 lbs.; 119, arrow-root, 44,651 lbs.; 56, onions, 291,550 lbs.; 36, barley, 589 bushels.

This small amount, however, shows an increase of more than a fourth above 1832, when the acres in cultivation were only 456; and in 1835 they had risen to 601. The arrow-root is considered superior to that of any other country. Its cultivation has of late been greatly extended, the produce, which in 1832 was only 34,883 lbs., having risen in 1835 to 67,575 lbs. The export, which in 1832 bore the value only of £166, amounted in 1834 to £2804, and in 1835 to £3238. Onions also, a favourite vegetable, have increased in that period from 253,400 lbs. to 478,800 lbs. These and other garden-stuffs are sent to the West Indies. Generally speaking, however, Bermuda, instead of rearing exportable produce, is dependent on foreign parts even for breadcorn. In 1834 it imported grain and flour to the value of

* Acts, p. 47. † West Indies, vol. i. p. 470.

£17,018, and in 1835 to that of £21,000. In 1833 there were 3258 acres in pasture, on which were fed 215 horses, 1897 horned cattle, 148 sheep, and 243 goats. These, however, served only to supply milk and other accommodations, since for the subsistence of the inhabitants it was necessary to import live stock to the value of £4693, and beef, bacon, and other species of meat, to that of above £5000. It is somewhat curious that in 1835 the number of acres in pasturage had fallen to 2282, the horses to 187, the cattle to 1728. Part of the space had doubtless been converted into arable land, but not the whole.*

The other branches of internal industry are not of much greater importance. There is still a fishery of whales, which appear in March close to the southern coast, and remain till June. About twelve boats are employed, which seldom take more than twenty of them, yielding about 1000 gallons of oil. This branch is considered capable of great extension. The surrounding seas abound in fish, which are dexterously caught by the inhabitants, and form a large part of their food, but are not cured nor exported. The cedar trees, which cover a great part of the island, are used for building a few ships, which are esteemed as at once light, swift, and durable. This branch, however, represented by Edwards and others as the principal one, is of limited extent, very variable, and rather diminishing. The following is a state of it for the last twenty years :—

Years.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Years.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1818,	12	1165	1828,	10	905
1819,	13	841	1829,	11	1258
1820,	10	718	1830,	9	1072
1821,	11	573	1831,	7	464
1822,	4	289	1832,	11	816
1823,	5	119	1833,	3	204
1824,	10	886	1834,	3	184
1825,	11	442	1835,	6	393
1826,	12	1160	1836,	7	613
1827,	12	1114	1837,	8	514†

* Colonial Tables 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835.

† Parl. Paper (Colonial Shipping), 16th August 1838, pp. 2, 3.

There is some manufacture of straw and palmetto leaves into hats and similar articles.

The shipping and commerce are somewhat more considerable, the habits of the people being maritime, and the situation favourable for a transit trade between Britain, the northern colonies, and the West Indies. The following is the amount of shipping inwards and outwards on an average of the three years 1832, 1833, and 1834:—

	INWARDS.		OUTWARDS.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Great Britain, . .	8	1,904	1	140
British Colonies, . .	75	6,136	89	7,975
United States, . .	58	6,074	49	5,404
Foreign States, . .	4	406	9	1,089
	145	14,520	148	14,608

The exports and imports for the same years are given as follows in the Colonial Tables:—

	Exports.	Imports.
1832, .	£13,784	£102,742
1833, . .	13,522	86,145
1834, .	8,418	77,925
Total,	£35,724	£266,812
Average,	£11,908	£88,937

On these amounts, and the singular inequality between the two branches, it may be observed, that the tables are in so far imperfect as not to exhibit the intercourse with the West Indies, although it is probably very extensive. Hence, though the exports consist chiefly of the produce of those islands, it nowhere appears as having been imported. The commerce with them, and the northern colonies together, appears to employ fully one-half of the shipping. As the imports are, in a great measure, for the use of the naval and military residents, they of course exceed the exports, though perhaps not so much as the tables indicate. They include a small quantity of all the branches of British manufacture, the chief being cottons, £3652; woollens, £2130; linens,

£2695; hardware, cutlery, and wrought iron, £1696; apparel and slops, £2064; silks, £1216; cordage, £1223; glass, £889; leather, £2047; haberdashery, £1534. There is cod-fish, probably from Newfoundland, to the amount of £2490. From British America and the United States, grain and live stock are brought to the value of nearly £30,000, wine and foreign spirits amount to £4100.*

Since preparing the above statements and calculations, we have received the Colonial Tables for 1835, which, as they exhibit the islands in their most recent state, may with advantage be analyzed separately. This year exhibits a remarkable increase above the two preceding, both in the imports and exports, the former amounting to £100,783, the latter to £21,353. This last, we may observe, is a much greater value than had been exported in any of the three preceding years, and nearly doubles the average; a fact which would seem to justify the conclusion, that the colonists are endeavouring to compensate for the reduction of their establishments, by increased industry, and by opening new channels of commerce. In truth, one of the principal articles of increase is arrow-root, which amounts this year to 64,836 lbs., valued at £3288. The other chief productions are mahogany and hardwood, to the extent of £8700. This is accounted for by the import of these goods to the amount of £11,585. They are stated to be from a foreign settlement, probably Hayti, which marks quite a new branch of intercourse. The shipping has also increased, being stated as follows:—

PLACES.	INWARDS.			OUTWARDS.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Great Britain, . .	9	2,233	..	10	1,900	..
British Colonies, . .	71	5,312	..	81	7,227	..
United States, . .	50	5,098	..	43	4,509	..
Foreign States, .	16	2,658	..	14	1,408	..
Total,	146	15,301	963	148	15,044	962

* Colonial Tables, 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835.

After all, the main dependence of the colony is upon the British naval and military establishments. The troops stationed there in 1832 amounted to 1285; but in 1833 the number was reduced to 649,—a change which probably caused the diminution of imports in the two following years, and perhaps might also impel to the increase of cultivation. The military expenditure amounted in that year to £70,248.* We have not a more recent return of the numbers; but the establishment appears to have been still farther reduced in 1834-5, since the net expenditure in that year amounted only to £48,388.†

In the year 1836, there were 1038 convicts employed upon the new works in four prison-ships. One containing 232 men, was stationed at St George; the other three, with 806, at Ireland Island. The expense of their maintenance amounted to £13,403. They were healthy and well behaved; their labour was estimated at £16,869, a sum exceeding the cost of their food and clothing. In this year, however, as the works were approaching their termination, one of the ships was withdrawn.‡ In the Navy Estimates for the year 1838-9, instead of £10,000, the sum expended in the preceding season, there is merely voted £3000 for completing the works, and for contingencies on breaking up the establishment; also £3479 for erecting a boundary-wall, and for the repairs of buildings. In the estimates for 1839-40, there is still voted £2745 for completing the works and for contingencies. The other naval expenses anticipated in Bermuda for that year are as follow:—

* Parl. Paper, Military Establishment, Colonies, 7th Aug. 1834.

† Parl. Paper, Colonial Expenditure and Revenues, 19th August 1836, p. 3.

‡ Parl. Papers relating to Crime, &c., 20th August 1836, p. 5-9.

Artificers employed in the naval yard,	£6000	0	0
Victualling establishment,	800	0	0
Medical establishment,	560	0	0
Officers employed in naval yard (including storekeeper, £600; chaplain, £400; boatswain, £200; clerks, £900),	2767	0	0
Officers employed in medical establishment (including surgeon, £500; two mates, £273, 15s.),	1275	0	0
Officers employed in victualling establishment (including agent, £400),	425	0	0
	£11,827	0	0

This expense may be considered permanent, and is, of course, independent of the pay and maintenance of any naval force which may happen to be stationed there.

The population of these islands is stated by Mr Edwards, with reference seemingly to the year 1789, at 5462 white, and 4919 black inhabitants; in all, 10,381. In 1833 the census gave 4297 whites, 1286 free blacks and coloured,* 3612 slaves; in all 9195. There thus appears a certain diminution, at least of the white inhabitants. Of them 1649, and of the black and coloured 2241 were males; 2648 of the former, and 2657 of the latter, females; and there were besides fifty-three resident strangers. Moderate as is this number, it gives the proportion of 459 upon each of the twenty square miles. Of these 1885 are stated to be employed in agriculture, who would not then on an average cultivate above a third of an acre; but it is remarked that this includes those even partially engaged in gardening, the chief branch. There are said to be 375 employed in manufactures, including ship and boat building; and in commerce 597.

The islanders are described as handsome in their persons, hospitable, and of agreeable manners. Religious instruction is provided for by a church in each parish, and by five dissenting chapels. There are upwards of twenty public or free schools. A classical academy is supported in Devonshire parish by trust-funds in the colony, where twenty-five boys are received at an expense of £550.

* In the Tables for 1834 this number is stated at 4559; but here the slaves have evidently been included.

The seminaries for white and coloured children are distinct, and three or four are taught on the Madras system. Two infant schools were established in 1833, and attended by fifty children, who increased in 1835 to eighty. There are nine day-schools, where about ninety white and 150 black scholars are instructed, and fourteen Sunday schools. The attendance at these last is more numerous. Two of the former are supported by subscription among the ladies of St George, several by the Society for the Conversion of the Negroes and other associations in Great Britain, two or three by funds at the disposal of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, in whose diocese Bermuda is. There are besides not fewer than twenty-one private schools, the attendance at which is not stated.*

The colony is ruled by a governor, who is also commander-in-chief; a council of nine, who, though nominated by the governor, must be confirmed by the crown; and a house of assembly of thirty-six, chosen by electors, who must derive an annual income of £30 sterling from landed property. In this house all measures must originate; but, till they receive the concurrence both of the governor and council, cannot pass into laws. A revenue is levied, which in 1835 amounted only to £792, 3s. 4d., composed of

Powder-duty,	£563	4	8
Quit-rents,	204	12	0
Fines,	24	6	8
	£792	3	4

The first head consists of an impost levied on all foreign ships entering the harbour, of a pound of powder per ton; but which formerly was commuted for 1s., though raised afterwards to 1s. 4d., and ultimately to 2s.

The parts of this archipelago are so closely contiguous, that they may be considered practically as one; and the division is made, not into islands, but into parishes. These, with their extent, population, and proportions of cultivated land, are exhibited in the following table :—

* Colonial Tables, 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835.

NAMES.	Area in Acres.	Inhabitants.		Acres in	
		White.	Black and coloured.	Crop.	Pasture.
St George, . .	1590	599	725	45½	1232¼
Hamilton, .	1651	352	396	52¾	544¼
Smith, . .	1281	202	228	21	108½
Devonshire, .	1281	327	341	16	158
Pembroke, . .	1281	859	902	43¾	455¼
Paget, . .	1281	458	421	67¼	11½
Warwick, . .	1281	561	446	26	100
Southampton, .	1281	373	491	63¾	157½
Sandy, . .	1507	528	709	120½	444½
	12,424	4,259	4,559	456¾	3670½

St George, the metropolis, and Hamilton, are the only towns, the former containing about 500 houses. The other habitations are spread over the country in a detached manner, producing an agreeable and picturesque effect. The principal dockyard is in Ireland, a small island at the opposite extremity of the group and at the greatest distance from the capital. It has been covered with works, and its surface almost entirely changed, with the view of fitting it for a naval and military depôt of the first importance. St George, however, is the most accessible point, and its harbour very spacious; though there is a rocky bar which prevents ships of the largest class from entering.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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